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MASSACHUSETTS

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Lippincott's

Cabinet Histories of the States.

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE

HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS,

FROM ITS

Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.

BY

W. H. CARPENTER.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.
1853.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

There are but few persons in this country who have not, at some time or other, felt the want of an accurate, well written, concise, yet clear and reliable history of their own or some other state.

The want here indicated is now about being supplied; and, as the task of doing so is no light or superficial one, the publishers have given into the hands of the two gentlemen whose names appear in the title-page, the work of preparing a series of Cabinet Histories, embracing a volume for each state in the Union. Of their ability to perform this well, we need not speak. They are no strangers in the literary world. What they undertake the public may rest assured will be performed thoroughly; and that no sectarian, sectional, or party feelings will bias their judgment, or lead them to violate the integrity of history.

The importance of a series of state histories like those now commenced, can scarcely be estimated. Being condensed as carefully as accuracy and interest of narrative will permit, the size and price of the volumes will bring them within the reach of every family in the country, thus making them home-reading books for old and young. Each individual will,

in consequence, become familiar, not only with the history of his own state, but with that of other states: —thus mutual interest will be re-awakened, and old bonds cemented in a firmer union.

In this series of CABINET HISTORIES, the authors, while presenting a concise but accurate narrative of the domestic policy of each state, will give greater prominence to the personal history of the people. The dangers which continually hovered around the early colonists; the stirring romance of a life passed fearlessly amid peril; the incidents of border warfare; the adventures of hardy pioneers; the keen watchfulness, the subtle surprise, the ruthless attack, and prompt retaliation—all these having had an important influence upon the formation of the American character, are to be freely recorded. While the progressive development of the citizens of each individual state from the rough forest-life of the earlier day to the polished condition of the present, will exhibit a picture of national expansion as instructing as it is interesting.

The size and style of the series will be uniform with the present volume. The authors, who have been for some time collecting and arranging materials, will furnish the succeeding volumes as rapidly as their careful preparation will warrant.

PREFACE.

Quite a number of histories of Massachusetts have already been written by different authors, but they are, for the most part, confined to various periods anterior to the Revolution. Though invaluable as sources of information, these works contain much that is of no possible interest to the general reader; and are, besides, of so bulky and expensive a character that they can scarcely be regarded as coming within the ordinary scope of popular demand.

In writing the present book, the aim has been to carefully compare and adjust the accounts given of the origin and progress of the state by the most reliable authorities; to narrate faith-

fully every event necessary to a proper knowledge of the people and the institutions by which they have been governed; and, by condensing prolix details of no historical importance, to present within a reasonable compass all the essential facts which have hitherto been comprised in many volumes.

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HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER I.

Early voyages to the New World—Bartholomew Gosnold—Exploration of the northern coasts of America—Attempt to found a colony in Buzzard's Bay—Its failure—Voyage of Pring—The harbours of Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua discovered—Voyage of Weymouth—Five Indians kidnapped and sent to England—Formation of the Plymouth and London companies—Voyages to the coast—The Sagadahoc settlement—Its abandonment—Voyage of Smith to the northern coast—His successful traffic with the natives—His map of the country—Names it New England—Reanimation of the rival companies—Smith's second voyage—Is encountered by a pirate—Is pursued by a French vessel of war—Discontent of the crew—Smith's resolute behaviour—Is hemmed in by the French fleet—Liberation of his vessel—Treachery of his crew—Smith detained a French prisoner—Escapes in a storm—Reaches England—Punishment of the mutineers—His appeal to the western gentry in behalf of colonial settlements.

In the year 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, an old and experienced mariner, sailed from England on a trading voyage to the New World. Pursuing a more direct course than was customary at that period, he first made land between the forty-second and forty-third degrees of north latitude. Not finding a suitable harbour, he sailed to the southward, and, disembarking on

the semi-circular tongue of land, which forms the south-eastern entrance to Massachusetts Bay, named the promontory Cape Cod. After a brief examination of the country, Gosnold continued his course to the southward, passed by Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and, entering Buzzard's Bay, landed on the westernmost of a group of small islands, to which, in honour of his aged sovereign, he gave the name of Elizabeth.

Here, attracted by the luxuriant vegetation, and by the fragrant softness of the summer air, he determined to lay the foundation of a settlement. Selecting a rocky islet in the midst of a pond, for the protection of those whom he designed to leave behind him, he built a fort and storehouse upon it; keeping, at the same time, a portion of the ship's company busily employed in trading with the neighbouring Indians for fur, or in gathering sassafras, an article which, at that period, was held in great esteem for its medicinal virtues. When, however, the lading of his small bark was completed, the men who at first had been willing to remain, began to reflect more seriously upon the danger to which so small a company would be exposed, and finally concluded to return to England.

The success which attended the voyage of Gosnold induced a few English merchants and gentlemen adventurers to fit out two ships, for

the purpose of collecting sassafras, and of trading with the Indians for peltry. The command of these vessels was given to Martin Pring. He set sail from England on the 10th of April, 1603, and crossing the Atlantic without meeting any disaster, anchored in the Bay of Penobscot. Sailing thence southward, in search of sassafras, he discovered the harbours of Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua; but being still unsuccessful in the object of his voyage, he continued his course south, until he reached Martha's Vineyard. Freighting one of his ships with sassafras, and the other with fur, he returned to England after a prosperous voyage of six months.

The cheering accounts given by Gosnold and Pring of the country along which they had respectively coasted, stimulated other merchants and adventurers to fit out vessels for purposes of exploration and commerce. Notwithstanding the failure of repeated attempts to find a shorter passage to the East Indies, there were yet some ardent minds who believed such a discovery possible. Among those who still entertained a sanguine hope of reaching India by a north-west route, were the Earls of Arundel and Southampton; the former a nobleman of an enterprising spirit, and the latter better known as the patron of Shakspeare. Under the auspices of these noblemen an expedition was organized, the command of which was given to Captain

George Weymouth, a mariner of experience, who had already explored the bleak coast of Labrador. Sailing again from England in 1605, he entered the Penobscot Bay, and discovering the noble river of the same name which flows into it, ascended its western branch as far as Belfast Bay.

Returning soon after, Weymouth carried with him five of the natives of those regions, three of whom he presented to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the governor of Plymouth, a gentleman less known as the friend of Sir Walter Raleigh, than as an ardent adventurer who subsequently expended large sums of money in attempting to found settlements upon the continent.

In 1606, three years after the accession of James I. to the English throne, that monarch granted to two rival companies twelve degrees of latitude on the American coast. The region of country embraced within this patent extended from Cape Fear to Halifax. The first of these companies consisted of noblemen and others, residing in and around London, and was thence called the London Company. The second, known as the Plymouth Company, was composed of adventurers whose abode was in the west of England, but who were principally citizens of Bristol or Plymouth. The region patented was divided by the grant into three equal parts. The London adventurers were to occupy the

country lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of latitude; or, in other words, between Cape Fear and the southern limit of Maryland; while the Plymouth Company were empowered to found settlements between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees of latitudes,—the space between being left open to the competition of both.

The most prominent members of the Plymouth Company were Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1606, a small vessel sent by this company on a voyage of exploration, being driven by stress of weather to the West Indies, was seized by the Spaniards; but another ship, fitted out at the sole expense of Sir John Popham, and commanded by Martin Pring, returned with such favourable accounts of the country that a settlement was at once resolved upon.

In 1609, two vessels, having on board about one hundred colonists, and two of the Indians previously taken to England by Weymouth, set sail for America, and commenced a settlement on an island at the mouth of the Kennebec, or, as it was then called, the Sagadahoc River.

Over this small colony, which had been organized rather under an impression of its prospective greatness than in accordance with its present numbers, George Popham had been appointed president, and Raleigh Gilbert admiral.

A fort, a storehouse, and several rude dwellings were speedily erected for the accommodation of the settlers; and, on the 5th of December, the ships returned to England, leaving behind them forty-five of the company. The usual disasters soon followed. During the winter, which was one of unusual severity, the president died. The storehouse taking fire was burned to the ground. Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, two of the principal members of the Plymouth Company, dying in England about the same time, Raleigh Gilbert, the admiral, became heir to his brother's estate. Already disheartened by the unexpected severity of the climate, and deprived of those comforts to which they had been accustomed at home, the colonists gladly seized upon these losses as an excuse for abandoning the plantation.

An attempt to found a plantation at Nova Scotia, in 1609, was attended with similar results. The trade with the Indians was, however, still kept up; and fishing voyages to the coast of Maine were found sufficiently lucrative to encourage their continuance.

For some years no farther efforts at settlement were made. Disheartened by the accounts of those who, to shield their own conduct from the reproach of timidity, had represented the country as a "cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desert," the Plymouth Company appeared re-

luctant to expend more money upon enterprises which had hitherto turned out so untowardly. Private individuals were still less able to afford the necessary outlay. Two ardent adventurers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, had each of them expended twenty thousand pounds in their endeavours to found a colony, and both "thought it advisable to give over their designs, and put up with their loss."

In 1614 the hopes of the Plymouth Company experienced a temporary revival. Captain John Smith, disgusted with the conduct of the London Company, in whose service in Virginia he had displayed such signal ability, undertook a trading adventure to that part of North America embraced within the northern patent. While the sailors fished, himself, with eight others, in a small boat, ranged the coast from Penobscot Bay to Cape Cod. By trafficking with the Indians as he went along, he succeeded in obtaining, in exchange for attractive trifles of an inexpensive character, nearly eleven thousand beaver skins, one hundred martin skins, and as many of the otter. The remainder of the freight was made up of fish and train-oil. Returning to England in October, he disposed of his cargo at an immense profit. Nor was this the least valuable result of his enterprising spirit. With that forethought and sagacity which was so characteristic of the man, he had employed a portion of his

time in making a map of the coast, naming the country "New England." Other adventurers still persisting in calling it Canada, Smith procured an interview with Prince Charles, to whom he presented the map he had drawn, and obtained from him a confirmation of the title.

Reanimated by the success of Smith, the Plymouth Company sought him out on his return to England, and, by means of magnificent promises, succeeded in engaging his services. In the mean time, the London or Virginia Company were not inactive. Seizing advantage of the profitable traffic thus opened with the Indians at the north, they immediately despatched four ships to New England. The Plymouth Company had as yet made no provision for Smith, though they continued to feed his hopes with promises of founding a settlement at an early day, over which he was to exercise the chief control during his life. They had also agreed to furnish him with four ships by the 25th of December 1615; but, after many delays, he was obliged to be content with two only; a ship of two hundred tons burden, and a bark of fifty. Misfortune attended him from the outset. He had scarcely sailed more than a hundred and twenty leagues before the masts of his ship went by the board; and she became so leaky, that it was only by dint of keeping his men constantly at the pumps he was enabled to return to Plymouth.

Exchanging his ship of two hundred tons for one of sixty, he again set sail; but, being overtaken by a pirate, he resolved to sink his small vessel, rather than not obtain honourable terms at their hands. Surprised that a bark of sixty tons, and mounting but four small cannon, should prepare to resist a vessel of one hundred and forty tons, having a crew of eighty expert seamen, and armed with thirty-six pieces of artillery, the pirates called a parley, and demanded the name of the commander. When they learned it was Smith, he was suffered to pass free; many of the lawless crew being composed of soldiers who had formerly seen service under him. Notwithstanding this fortunate escape, his troubles rapidly thickened. The master, mate, pilot, and a portion of the crew became mutinous, and on being chased by two French ships, refused to fight until Smith threatened to blow up the ship rather than yield before his powder was expended. After a running fight they got clear of their pursuers, but found themselves, soon after, in the midst of the French fleet. Smith, finding all attempt at escape to be useless, went on board the admiral's ship to exhibit his commission. He was detained a prisoner. His men were seized and dispersed among the fleet; while his vessel, after being rifled of its provisions, was placed in charge of a French crew. From some cause, now unknown, the French

admiral finally concluded to restore the vessel to Smith, and to make good all the losses which he had sustained. The crew and provisions were accordingly returned; and, after an animated debate, whether they should continue the voyage or return to England, a majority of the company entertaining similar views with the captain, it was determined to proceed.

An act of the basest treachery alone prevented the prosecution of the enterprise. When on the eve of his departure, Smith, being sent for by the French admiral, went to visit him in the boat despatched by the latter for that purpose. While he was absent, the French fleet being dispersed in chase of a strange sail, the mutineers seized the opportunity of escaping with the bark, and returned to England.

After a cruise of two months the admiral returned to France, bearing Smith with him. The fleet becoming separated in a storm, the small prize ship on board of which Smith had been detained was among the first to approach the port of Rochelle. Finding his captors were bent upon justifying the illegality of their conduct toward him, by charging him with having devastated the colony of New France, Smith daringly resolved to effect his escape. In the midst of a heavy storm he seized a small boat belonging to the ship, and, after being tossed about in the tempest for the space of twelve

hours, succeeded in landing upon a small island, from whence he bribed some fishermen to carry him to Rochelle. His escape, which had threatened to terminate disastrously, was perhaps after all a most fortunate one. The vessel he had so desperately quitted was driven ashore during the storm, and dashed to pieces. The captain and half of the crew were drowned. The remainder of the mariners on reaching Rochelle were arrested at the instance of Smith, who had promptly laid his complaint before the judge of the Admiralty, and demanded an award of damages. As soon as the examination of the witnesses had been concluded, Smith, leaving the further prosecution of his claim in the hands of the English ambassador, departed for Plymouth, where the mutineers belonging to his own vessel had not only reported him dead, but, to shield themselves from censure, had vilified his character. These men he speedily caused to be imprisoned, making their treachery apparent by the testimony of others belonging to the ship's company, who had refused to join in the conspiracy..

Nothing daunted by his recent misfortunes, Smith, after publishing his description and map of New England, determined to make its merits more fully known to the gentry and merchants of Cornwall and Devonshire, by travelling among them, and explaining to them personally

the numerous advantages which the newly explored country possessed for those who would properly undertake and judiciously foster a colony in that region. He told them he should consider it unjust to himself, to his king, his country, and his friends, to offer any inducements to a farther prosecution of those voyages of adventure if he was not satisfied of their profitable character. He pictured, in colours exalted by his own enthusiasm, the delights of the new land, where nature and liberty afforded those luxuries for nothing which in England were only procurable at great cost. He dilated on the pleasure of planting vines, fruits, and herbs with their own hands; and in beautifying their own grounds in such a manner as might best accord with the taste or fancy of the possessor. He dwelt upon the sense of freedom the colonists would experience descending to the ocean beach, embarking in a boat of their own, and pursuing the sport of angling with a certainty of success, and an equal surety of profit. "Is it not a pretty sport," exclaimed the brave enthusiast, "to pull up twopence, sixpence, and twelvepence as fast as you can haul and shift a line? He is a very bad fisher who cannot take one, two, or three hundred cod a day, which dressed and dried, even if sold upon the coast at ten shillings a hundred, one-half the price they will bring in England, both the colo-

nist and the merchant may be well contented with their respective gains. And what sport," he added, "yields a more pleasing content than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air, from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea?"

These glowing representations were not without their effect. A new and distinct grant having been issued to the Virginia Company, the Plymouth Company applied for one of a similar character; and, notwithstanding the opposition which was raised by those who desired to retain the freedom of the New England fisheries, they succeeded in obtaining, on the 3d of November, 1620, a patent of singular comprehensiveness and liberality.

To forty persons, incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and ordering of New England in America," James I. granted a territory, extending in breadth from the forty-fourth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and in length from the Atlantic to the Pacific, excepting only such territory as was at that time "actually possessed by any other Christian prince or people." This extensive region, comprising upward of a million of square miles, was granted absolutely to the company, "with exclusive rights of jurisdiction, settlement, and traffic."

But it was neither from the exertions of Smith, nor the grasping disposition of the Plymouth Company, that New England was to receive its first band of permanent colonists.

CHAPTER II.

Struggles of Puritanism—Accession of James I.—Petition for redress of ecclesiastical grievances—Puritans ordered to conform—Oppressive conduct toward them—Their separation and dispersal—Congregation of Mr. Robinson—Take refuge in Amsterdam—Remove to Leyden—Their steadfastness and probity—A colony in America contemplated—Negotiation with the Virginia Company—Petition to the king—The patent accepted—A partnership formed with London merchants—Embarkation at Delft Haven—Junction with the Mayflower at Southampton—Accident to the Speedwell—The Mayflower sails alone—Arrival in Cape Cod harbour—Mutual compact drawn up—Explorations by land and water—Sufferings of the exploring parties—A child born—Final expedition under Governor Carver—The camp surprised by Indians—A bloodless victory—The cruise continued—A dangerous storm—Disembarkation on Clark's Island—Examination of Plymouth harbour—Landing of the Pilgrims.

PURITANISM, having its origin in the Reformation, but dating its absolute birth from the reign of Edward VI., suffered greatly during the reign of the bigoted Mary, and was scarcely in less danger under the Protestant rule of Elizabeth, who, from the force of early associations, had a lingering affection for many of the ceremonial observances adopted by the Catholic

church. Much, however, was hoped, by those of the Nonconformist faith, from the accession of James I. to the English throne. He was known to be attached to Protestantism, and while only king of Scotland, had declared himself favourable to the principles of Puritanism. The death of Elizabeth, in 1603, put his professions to the proof. In the course of his journey to London, he was met by a petition from seven hundred Puritans, praying "for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances." Increase of dignity and power had, however, already effected a change in the Scottish monarch's opinions, yet, desirous rather of exhibiting his own controversial powers, than of yielding those concessions which the sagacious Bacon advocated, he appointed a conference to be held at Hampton Court.

At this meeting, which took place on the 16th of January, 1604, the Puritans found the pedantic monarch firmly fixed in his determination to support the hierarchy of the English church, as necessary to the safety of his throne. They were admonished to conform, or he "would harry them out of the land." But the Puritans, strong in numbers, and earnest in the faith they had adopted, were not disposed to succumb so readily. Their friends in parliament boldly asserted the right of every man to enjoy liberty of conscience, and so pertinaciously demanded a recog-

nition of religious freedom, that the timid, pedantic king began to entertain a vehement hatred toward those whose consciences he found it impossible to control.

The regular clergy, well knowing that the tenure of their own power depended upon the suppression of these dangerous sects, fostered the prejudices of the king through the medium of his inordinate vanity, and even, at length, went so far as to hardily maintain his supremacy over the parliament and the laws.

In the mean time, it had been determined that, after a set period, all persons should conform to the established religion. Those who refused were to be dealt with. Growing in popularity under oppression, the Puritans, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, pursued with undeviating steadiness the even tenor of their way. The laws, enforced by zealous bigotry, they submitted to without a murmur, rejoicing that by their sufferings they could evince their faith. Though numbers of their ministers were harassed continually by the interference of lawless officials, and though many of those who persevered in preaching to the multitude in spite of ecclesiastical denunciation, were hunted from place to place, rudely insulted, maltreated, and imprisoned, very few were known to waver in the cause they had espoused; but continued, through good and evil report, steadfastly to

deny the authority of the prelates, and to maintain their right "to walk in all the ways which God had made known, or should make known to them."

Most of the congregations over which these ministers had presided, consisted of persons in the middle and lower walks of life. Persecuted with unrelenting severity by the Court of High Commission, the members were at length greatly dispersed, some into hiding, and some into exile, while those who yet clung together ventured only to meet for worship in remote or secret places.

Among others, who were induced to seek that freedom of worship abroad which was denied them in their own land, was a portion of the members composing the church of Mr. John Robinson. Flying in detached parties to Amsterdam, in Holland, during the year 1608, they joined, for a brief season, the church already established in that city by exiles of the same persuasion.

Some differences arising between the earlier fugitives and the new-comers, Robinson removed with his followers to Leyden, where they led an industrious and pious life; and by their sterling probity won the admiration of the Dutch magistrates, who bore willing testimony that they never had any suit or accusation against them. By the arrival, at various times, of many more

of their persecuted brethren, the congregation was greatly increased ; but its members, notwithstanding they were "diligent in their callings," found the means of obtaining a livelihood very difficult to procure. The free manners of the Hollanders were not suited to men of their austere and precise habits of life. They still clung affectionately to the language of their mother tongue; and at no time during their residence of twelve years in the land, could they be brought to feel that sense of freedom and home comfort, which would lead them to settle down permanently in the country. As their children grew up to manhood, another cause for solicitude arose. Many of them entered into the Dutch service, and were gradually losing that warm feeling of nationality, by which, notwithstanding the persecution they had undergone, their fathers were yet animated.

The various reports of adventurers concerning America finally induced the "Pilgrims," during the year 1617, to entertain the design of founding a colony, where they could bring up their children in their own faith, and, at the same time, advance "the gospel of the kingdom of Christ."

They at first thought of going to Guiana, which the last voyage of the unfortunate Raleigh had brought prominently into notice; but upon consultation it was found that a majority of the members inclined to prefer the "most northern

parts of Virginia," provided they might be allowed to live in a distinct body by themselves, and to follow their own mode of worship without restriction or interference. Robert Cushman and John Carver accordingly proceeded to England and conferred with the London Company. In the petition transmitted by the Pilgrims on this occasion, they argued their greater ability to found a permanent settlement, by reason of their being already "weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country," and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. "That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. That it was not with them, as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again."

The Virginia Company eagerly closed with the proposal of the petitioners, and offered their envoys a patent at once; but the latter declined to receive it until after they had again consulted their people. Encouraged by the prospect which now opened upon them, an application was soon after made to the king to confirm to the proposed colonists, under the great seal, liberty of religion. This James declined; but promised not to molest them. The congregation again conferred together, and finally concluded, that the promise

was as binding as the seal, since, if there existed a desire to wrong them, means could easily be taken to do so, "though they had a seal as broad as the house floor."

Resting therefore upon the doubtful staff of a king's word, they agreed to accept a patent at the hands of the Virginia Company, and in accordance with this determination renewed their correspondence with that association during the year 1619. Some confusion, however, in the affairs of the company retarded the delivery of the patent until toward the close of the year; and, at length, the grant being made in the name of John Wincob, a gentleman who was prevented by circumstances from emigrating with his friends, it never became of any service.

One serious obstacle yet remained to be overcome. The congregation was poor, and, without receiving assistance from others, could not sustain the charge of their transportation across the Atlantic, much less could they provide the means of temporary support in the wilderness. In this dilemma they applied to Mr. Weston, and certain other merchants of London, with whom their agents succeeded in forming a partnership for seven years, rating the services of each emigrant at ten pounds. At the close of the period for which the copartnership was formed, the profits derived from the labours of the colonists, together with all the "houses and lands, gardens

and fields," acquired during that time, were to be divided among the stockholders, in proportion to the shares which each one held. This arrangement pressed most heavily upon the poor emigrant, since, for his seven years' service, he received no greater proportion of the property which had been acquired than the London merchant who had only adventured the sum of ten pounds sterling.

Nothing daunted, however, by this additional burden thus laid upon them, the Puritans prepared for their departure. The Mayflower and the Speedwell, two ships which had been chartered for the voyage, not being of sufficient capacity to contain the whole congregation, it was concluded to leave Robinson behind at Leyden, with the feebler and more timid of his flock, while the younger members went first and prepared the way

This prudent arrangement having been adopted, so soon as the adventurers were in readiness for their journey, accompanied by a large number of their friends from Amsterdam and Leyden, they proceeded to Delft Haven, where the Speedwell, a small ship of sixty tons, lay waiting for them. The night previous to this memorable journey was spent in tears and prayers, in the singing of psalms, and the interchange of those tender courtesies which the approaching separation rendered so grateful. At Delft Haven,

before the embarkation took place, the prayers of the pastor were again offered up; and when the fair wind of the following day invited them to repair on board the ship, the members who remained behind with their beloved pastor fell upon their knees, "and with eyes, and hands, and hearts lifted to heaven, fervently commended their adventuring brethren to the Lord, and his blessing. Thus, after mutual embraces, accompanied by many tears, they bade a long, and many of them, a last farewell."

Firing a parting volley, the little band of emigrants, under the guidance of Elder Brewster, crossed over to Southampton, and reaching that port with a prosperous wind on the 2d of July, found the Mayflower, an English ship of one hundred and eighty tons, had already arrived from London with their provisions and outfit. On the 5th of August, the two ships set sail for America; but in a few days the leaky condition of the Speedwell compelled them to return to Dartmouth and refit. Sailing again on the 21st of August, the reluctance of the captain of the Speedwell to trust himself on a strange coast, joined to the timidity of his crew, induced them to represent the vessel as too frail for the voyage. Again putting back, they entered the harbour of Plymouth, where the Speedwell was abandoned. So many of her passengers as could be accommodated embarked on board the Mayflower; but

Cushman and some twenty others they were reluctantly constrained to leave behind.

On the 6th of September, the Mayflower, having on board one hundred emigrants, a portion of whom were women and children, in bold defiance of the disasters which had hitherto attended the expedition, put out into the broad Atlantic, and commenced her lonely voyage. The emigrants had already selected, with great sagacity, the coast near the Hudson, as the most favourable point for founding a new settlement. But either from the ignorance of their pilot or from some other cause, they were carried much farther to the northward, and after a stormy voyage of two months, the first land they espied was the promontory of Cape Cod. On the 10th of November they came to an anchor in the fine harbour formed by the curvature of that famous cape. What little they could see of the coast, they discovered to be barren in the extreme. It was also beyond the limits of their patent; but the season being too far advanced to adventure farther, they determined to seek a more suitable place for settlement, even though its harbour should be found to possess fewer advantages.

But as some symptoms of disaffection had been noticed during the voyage, it was thought conducive to the future harmony of the colonists that they should enter into a mutual compact

for the purposes of government. This being unanimously agreed upon, a contract was drawn up and signed, in which the democratic principle of a government based upon the will of a majority of the people was first practically established. This remarkable instrument is in the following words:

"In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony on the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience."

This paper having been signed by forty-one persons, as representatives of their families and dependants—the aggregate number on board

the Mayflower being one hundred and one—by general consent, John Carver, "a pious and well approved gentleman," was chosen governor for one year.

On the same day, the 11th of November, 1620, a company of men, well armed, were sent on shore to obtain wood and make discoveries. They found the country well covered with trees of various kinds; but saw no Indians, nor any signs of habitations. Having loaded their small boat with juniper, a fuel to which, from its fragrance, they were partial, they returned to the ship.

As the winter season was rapidly approaching, the company, some of whom had been on board the Mayflower for more than a hundred days, were very anxious that a place for settlement should be selected as speedily as possible. After a delay of sixteen days, the shallop, which had been stowed between decks, and used as a place to sleep in during the voyage, was repaired by the carpenter, and pronounced seaworthy. In the mean time another exploring party, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, set out, on the 15th of November, in search of a settlement. They had not penetrated the forest more than a mile before they discovered some five or six Indians, whom they pursued for several miles. Upon the approach of darkness the exploring party halted; and, having arranged their senti-

nels, encamped for the night. The following morning pursuit of the Indian fugitives was renewed with an equal want of success. The English, though greatly impeded by the natural obstacles which presented themselves, and suffering severely from want of water, persevered in penetrating the forest, until at length they emerged into a beautiful valley, where, to their delight, they discovered several fine springs of fresh water, and the tracks of deer. After resting and refreshing themselves at this place, they moved southward until they reached the shore, where they made a fire upon the beach, as a signal of their safety to the anxious watchers on board the ship. When this thoughtful duty had been performed, they proceeded on their way, until they came to some small sand-hills covered with mats, and which, from their containing decaying weapons of war, they rightly conjectured to be Indian graves. Passing reverently on, they came to an open field, from which the corn had evidently been gathered not long before. Presently they reached a spot bearing indications that a house had recently stood there. Frail, oblong structures, arching at the top, and covered with mats, formed the usual Indian houses of this period. Here they found a ship's kettle, and a quantity of corn, some shelled, and some remaining on the ear; part of this corn was openly exposed in a round,

narrow-topped basket, and part was buried in the ground. Of the grain thus fortunately discovered they carried away about ten bushels, the remainder they buried. Returning to the valley of springs, they remained there during the night, and the following day rejoined their ship.

The repairs of the shallop being at length completed, an expedition was organized on a somewhat larger scale. Thirty-four persons embarked on board the small vessel, a portion of whom were to cruise along the shore, while a stronger exploring party moved in a parallel direction inland. They now began to experience all the severities of a most inclement season. The snow fell, the wind blew, and the spray of the sea as it dashed upon them was converted into ice. It was a bitter, and to some a fatal time. Utterly overcome by the piercing cold, the sufferings experienced by a part of the company finally resulted in death. Those who attempted to penetrate inland fared no better. After wandering about and enduring great fatigue for two days, they returned to the vessel. It was while a portion of the company was absent on this painful and unsuccessful exploration, that a child was born on board the Mayflower, the first child of English parents born in New England. He was named Peregrine White, and lived to see a feeble, half-

famished settlement become a powerful colony. He died at Marshfield in 1704, at the age of eighty-three years and three months.

On the 6th of December a third party, among whom were Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, embarked in the shallop, and cruised around the bay in search of a place for settlement. The next morning the company was divided as before, and while one detachment proceeded by land the other coasted. But they united toward evening, the shallop being moored to the shore, and the whole party encamping in the vicinity of each other on Great Meadow Creek. About midnight a surprise was attempted by the savages; but it was frustrated by the vigilance of the sentinels. The next morning, shortly after prayers, a succession of yells and a flight of arrows were the first indications which the exploring party received of a return of the Indians, whose presence had created so unexpected an alarm during the night. Although the company was at this time divided, a part of them having returned to the shallop, a few discharges of musketry were sufficient to disperse their enemies. Naming the place where they had been assaulted, "The First Encounter," they offered thanks to God for their bloodless victory, and returning on board the shallop, continued their cruise. A biting and pitiless storm arose soon after, by which their rudder

was rendered wholly useless, and their mast broken into three pieces. By dint, however, of incessant labour at the oars, they were enabled to escape the dangers by which they were threatened; and about evening succeeded in sheltering themselves under the lee of a small island, subsequently known as Clark's Island, near the entrance of Plymouth Harbour. Disembarking in the midst of the storm, they succeeded in making a fire. Encamping upon the shore, they passed the night there in safety, though not without experiencing great discomfort.

The next day, being the Sabbath, they devoted wholly to its sacred purposes. The following morning, the 11th day of December, old style, but the 22d by the modern calendar, they sounded the harbour, and finding it convenient for shipping, a party disembarked on the mainland. The character of the country, partly woodland and partly cleared of timber, with the abundance of pure water, both from springs and streamlets, seemed to indicate a proper place for a settlement. Returning to acquaint their friends with the welcome tidings, on the 15th of December the Mayflower was brought into the harbour, and anchored about a mile and a half from the shore.

To the place thus selected for their future home the pilgrims gave the name of New Plymouth, in grateful remembrance of the kind-

ness they had experienced at the last English port from which they had taken their departure. By a singular coincidence, Captain John Smith had previously given, upon his map, the name of Plymouth to the same harbour.

CHAPTER III.

A military company organized—Distribution of the settlers into families—Buildings commenced—Great sickness among the colonists—Fearful loss of life—Death of Carver—Departure of the Mayflower—Appearance and salutation of Samoset—Visit of Massasoit—Squanto the interpreter—The earliest offences against the laws of the colony—The mode of punishment—Tardy convalescence of the sick—Embassy to Massasoit—Jealousy of Corbitant, a Narraganset sachem—His seizure of Squanto—His village surprised by Standish—Alarm of the neighbouring Indians—Treaty of amity and dependence—Arrival of colonists—Symbolical message of Canonicus—Bradford's bold retort—Its success—Plymouth fortified—Standish undertakes a voyage to Massachusetts Bay—Is dissuaded from it by Hobbamock—Wily device of Squanto—the expedition broken up—Deceit of Squanto discovered—His life demanded by Massasoit—Forbearance of Bradford—Arrival of Weston's colonists—Their reckless and dissipated character—Death of Squanto.

WARNED by the disasters which had attended the early settlement of Virginia, the Plymouth colonists immediately on landing prepared to defend themselves from any attack by the savages. A military company was formed, of which Miles Standish, who had seen service in the Low Countries, was appointed captain. Some small

cannon were taken from the Mayflower, and planted advantageously on shore.

To facilitate the division of land, the pilgrims, one hundred and one in number, were distributed into nineteen families. To each person was assigned a lot of ground for a house, eight feet three inches broad, by forty-nine feet six inches deep. Notwithstanding the difficulties presented by the frozen ground and the inclemency of the season, a busy scene soon presented itself. In the midst of great suffering and many privations, the men, one-half of whom were severely ill, set to work to fell trees and to build their houses. Owing to the stormy character of the weather, it was only at intervals that this could be accomplished; but, at length, two rows of houses were erected on a rising ground, with a storehouse in the midst. In the mean time, death had been busy with many. Exposure to cold and wet produced diseases, which were fatally exaggerated by the want of proper food, and other causes scarcely less injurious. Although the winter had not been one of extraordinary severity, before spring one-half of their number had died, and so feeble were those remaining that there was scarcely strength enough left among the living to bury the dead. The 5th of April, 1621, was rendered memorable by the death of John Carver, their governor, and by the departure of the Mayflower to England,

after having remained on the coast nearly five months, affording shelter to the weaker colonists, and protection against any attack from the Indians. William Bradford was chosen to succeed Carver; as governor and the soft airs of the spring slowly restored the shattered health of those patient and uncomplaining spirits that yet remained.

It was regarded as an especial providence by the early historians of New England, that, a short time previous to the arrival of the pilgrims, a malignant disease had swept away or driven off all the Indian tribes that had inhabited the seaboard. Exploring parties found wigwams still standing, the stubble of recent corn-fields still erect, and large numbers of newly-made graves; but they saw no Indians, except on rare occasions, and those only hovering at a distance.

At length, on the 16th of March, 1621, an Indian, wearing no apparel with the exception of a strip of leather decorated with a deep fringe around his waist, entered boldly into the village; and as the colonists sought to prevent him from approaching their rendezvous, saluted them with, "Welcome, Englishmen!" From him they learned that the original name of the place was Patuxet, and that most of the recent occupants of the soil had been swept away by a malignant pestilence. Hailing his presence as a fortunate circumstance, he was treated to the best they had,

and when night came on, finding him determined to remain, they reluctantly prepared a lodging for him in one of their houses; but, to guard against treachery, kept up until the next morning a vigilant watch. This savage, whose name was Samoset, and who had learned a little English from the fishermen frequenting the coast of Maine, after being gratified with various small presents, returned to Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, a tribe whose villages were the nearest of any to Plymouth. Shortly afterward, Samoset fulfilled his promise of opening a trade in furs with the feeble English colony. Within a week Massasoit himself came to visit the pilgrims; and, by the aid of Squanto, an Indian who had been kidnapped by Hunt, but after learning the English tongue had succeeded in returning to his native country, a treaty of peace, offensive and defensive, was agreed to, which for more than fifty years was faithfully maintained by both.

From this auspicious commencement sprang up a fair traffic with the Indians, from which, in after years, the English derived great advantages. Desirous of improving the friendship exhibited toward the colonists by Massasoit, Captain Standish, accompanied by Isaac Alderton, visited the chief in his camp not long after. Their reception was kindly in the extreme; but provisions in the Indian household were so

scanty, that they could only bestow upon their guests a few ground-nuts and a small quantity of tobacco. Indeed, Massasoit was not ashamed, at this period of scarcity, to accept alms of the Plymouth people, who returned him his kettle filled with peas.

It was about this same time that the first infringement of the regulations adopted by the Pilgrims for their governance took place. The offender was one John Billington, an incorrigible fellow, who had smuggled himself on board the Mayflower when she first set sail from London. Being convicted of "contempt of the captain's command, and opprobrious speeches," he was sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together; but, in consideration of his humbling himself before the people, he was mercifully forgiven. Kindness was, however, thrown away upon such a man, who continued to lounge about the settlement, a confirmed and disreputable vagabond. He had a son equally worthless, and the two together were a constant source of anxiety to the more staid and religious portion of the colonists. A duel with sword and dagger, fought by two servants of Mr. Hopkins, and in which both combatants were wounded, was the next offence that occurred, and was as speedily dealt with. The offenders, in this instance, were ordered to undergo the same kind of punishment which had previously been awarded to Billing-

ton. This punishment was to be continued for the space of twenty-four hours, during which they were to be denied both food and water. It was rigidly carried into effect; but the sufferings which the prisoners experienced were so acute, that they were liberated from their painful position after the lapse of an hour.

With the buds and the blossoms, the upspringing grass, and the leafing of the trees, the hearts of the Pilgrims began to be reconciled to their new home in a strange land. They had borne, without undue murmuring, the loss of one-half their scanty number, and they now watched the convalescence of others with a hope which the discomforts of their condition, the wintry weather, and the dreary and frozen solitudes around them had wellnigh overclouded. Their high-toned piety had indeed rendered them capable of bearing up under a degree of affliction beneath which men with minds less accurately balanced would have succumbed. Yet their gratitude was not the less fervent when the birds began to sing again, and the icy brooks to throw off their crystal fetters, and the earth to put on its fresh and tender vernal raiment. Straightened as they soon became for food, it was a source of deep joy to watch the gradually increasing strength of those dear friends whom sickness had so long prostrated, and to see fulness and colour once again return

to beloved lips, and the rosy hue of health to cheeks so lately pale and wan.

In July an embassy to Massasoit was resolved upon; the conscientious colonists desiring to discover, and reimburse, certain unknown Indians for the corn which had been found and appropriated by the party that first landed. Upon this embassy Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow were despatched. Guided by Squanto, the Indian who had been kidnapped by Hunt, and who was to act as interpreter, they set out overland for the village of Pokanoket, or Narraganset Bay, where Massasoit then was. They bore with them, as presents to the chief, their ally, a laced coat of red cotton, and a copper chain. These were most graciously received by the sagamore, who, when arrayed in his new and strange apparel, was regarded by his people with increased wonder and reverence. It was a harmless device to win the affections of their first friend, and it doubtless aided in doing so, since Massasoit remained true to his early compact to the day of his death.

Other chiefs, however, were more jealous of the new-comers. Corbitant, a sachem acknowledging allegiance to Massasoit, was by no means disposed to be on good terms with his new allies. On one occasion he seized Squanto, the interpreter, and held him a close prisoner, saying, "If Squanto was dead, the English would lose their

tongue." The death of Squanto being reported to the Plymouth people by Hobbamock, another friendly Indian, Captain Standish, with about a dozen men, proceeded hastily and in secret to Corbitant's village, which they surprised about midnight, while all the inhabitants were asleep. In the midst of the alarm which followed, some of the women clung to Hobbamock, crying out "Friend! Friend!" while the timid boys, dreading the vengeance of the intruders, sought to evade it by exclaiming piteously, "I am a girl! I am a girl!" Fortunately for Corbitant, he was absent at the time; but Standish was gratified at finding the report of the murder of Squanto unfounded. The following morning that useful Indian was released.

But though, as regarded one object which the colonists had in view, the expedition proved a failure, the display of resolution thus evinced had a salutary effect upon the surrounding Indians. On the 18th of September, nine petty chieftains entered Plymouth, and, entreating the friendship of the Pilgrims, acknowledged themselves subjects of King James. About the same time a boat with ten men explored Massachusetts Bay. After opening a traffic with the few Indians that were discovered there, the party returned in safety to Plymouth.

With restored health, and a moderately plenti-

ful supply of provisions, the first summer passed not uncheerfully away.

Upon the approach of winter, thirty-five new colonists arrived in the Fortune, among whom were Mr. Cushman, and a portion of those emigrants who had been left behind with the Speedwell. They were most joyfully welcomed, although, by this addition, the limited stores of the settlers were found to be so far short of the requisite provision for the winter, that the colonists were constrained to content themselves with one-half the usual daily allowance. Cushman himself returned to England as the agent of the colony, taking with him a mixed cargo of furs, sassafras, and other articles, to the value of about twenty-four hundred dollars.

Soon after the Fortune had left the coast, an event occurred which at first seemed ominous of approaching danger; but it was boldly met, and the threatening aspect of affairs terminated peacefully. The western shore of Narraganset Bay was inhabited by the Narraganset Indians, a powerful tribe, of whose numbers and prowess even Massasoit stood in awe. Canonicus, the chief sachem of this nation, at first appeared disposed to regard his English neighbours with friendly feelings; but, after wavering for some time, he finally sent a messenger to Plymouth with a bundle of arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, as a symbol of his hostility. Nothing

daunted, Governor Bradford filled the skin with powder and ball, and sent it back to Canonicus with a message, expressing his regret at not having any ships at his command, as he would in that case have sailed at once to respond to his challenge; but that if the Narragansets would return to assail the colony, his people were ready to meet them. So much boldness and confidence alarmed the hostile sachem; and when the snake skin, filled with powder and shot, was produced, his fears were so greatly aroused that he would neither touch the symbolical device, nor permit it to remain within the limits of his dominions. The messenger who brought it refused to touch it again; but another Indian, somewhat bolder, took it up and carried it to the next village. Its presence creating an equal terror to them, it was carried in a similar manner to another Indian settlement, from whence it was as speedily despatched to a third, and a fourth; and in this way it was passed from settlement to settlement, until at length it was returned to Plymouth without any one having dared to open it during the course of its singular and erratic travels.

Notwithstanding the bold and defiant manner with which it had been deemed politic to reply to Canonicus, the Plymouth people, having a prudent regard for their safety, commenced at once to fortify themselves by surrounding their

village with a palisade of strong timbers. A system of general military training was also adopted, and rules established for the guidance of the colonists in all cases of sudden alarm.

Another voyage to Massachusetts was soon after resolved upon, although Hobbamock sought to prevent it by expressing a fear that the Massachusetts Indians were in alliance with the Narragansets. He also sought to cast a suspicion upon the fidelity of Squanto, a charge which the events occurring soon after appeared at first to justify. The voyage was, however, determined upon; but Standish, with ten men, and accompanied by Squanto and Hobbamock had scarcely departed before a member of Squanto's family spread an alarm that a large body of Indians were on their way to attack the settlement. To make his story more credible, the cunning savage had smeared his face with blood, which he alleged was occasioned by a wound received in defence of the colonists. The cannon was at once directed to be fired as a signal for the instant return of the voyagers. Owing to a calm that prevailed at the time, they were yet within hearing, and immediately put back to the settlement, where they found the colonists already armed and prepared to receive the enemy. But Hobbamock no sooner heard the source of the alarm, and that the report of the Indian implicated Massasoit in the hostile

movement, than he pronounced the whole story false. Uncertain what to believe, and yet inclined to give credence to the assertion of Hobbamock, the governor despatched the wife of the latter secretly to Pokanoket to ascertain the disposition of Massasoit and his Indians toward them. Utterly unsuspicious of the rumours which had been reported so greatly to his prejudice, the noble chieftain was justly indignant at the author of them, and demanded that the slanderer should be delivered to his messengers, who were authorized to put him to death. The value of Squanto as an interpreter, for it was to his shrewdness and cunning that the alarm was owing, saved him from any greater punishment than a reprimand.

While, however, the fate of that wily Indian still hung suspended in the balance, the approach of a strange sail determined the governor to put off his final reply to the messengers from Massasoit, until he had ascertained whether the vessel which was then entering the harbour was a friend or an enemy. Piqued at this delay, the savage envoys departed in great anger, and soon afterward Squanto was restored to liberty.

The suspicious vessel proved to be a friendly shallop, owned by Thomas Weston, a London merchant, engaged in the fisheries off the coast of Maine. This ship brought seven additional colonists to Plymouth. As the emigrants who

had arrived in November, relying wholly upon the provisions accumulated by the earlier settlers, had brought with them no stores whatever, and as the new-comers were equally destitute, Mr. Winslow, taking the boat belonging to the colony, returned with the shallop to Maine to purchase supplies from the vessels which frequented that coast. From these worthy and humane mariners he obtained, as a free gift, all the provisions they could spare; and this opportune relief, by judicious economy, afforded the colonists a moderate subsistence until the crops they had cultivated were ready for the garner.

It was from these fishermen that the Plymouth people first received tidings of the fearful massacre perpetrated by the Indians, under Opechancanough, upon the settlers in Virginia. Well knowing that the most perfect of all security is based upon a wise precaution, they profited so far by this disaster as to erect a fort upon the hill which commanded the town, using it subsequently for the double purposes of worship and defence.

During the month of July, two more vessels, having on board sixty colonists, entered the harbour of Plymouth. These vessels, the Charity and the Swan, also belonged to Weston, who, having become dissatisfied with his gains from his Plymouth venture, had determined upon establishing a settlement of his own, and had

selected Massachusetts Bay as the most favourable point for a new plantation. These men of Weston's, chiefly indented servants, were received courteously by the Plymouth people; but being a wild, reckless, improvident set, they fell into disfavour not only with the Pilgrims, but also with the Indians, in whose vicinity at Narraganset, now called Weymouth, they soon after attempted to settle themselves. Godless, idle, and utterly beyond control, they lived carelessly for some time upon such supplies as they had brought with them. When these were exhausted, and famine stared them in the face, they sought out the neighbouring Indians, and either begged, or stole, or took forcible possession of such food as they could get. The natural result of this conduct was to bring down upon them the hatred of the savages, who were only prevented by their fears of the Plymouth people from inflicting a summary punishment upon the offenders.

Although this plantation at Weymouth was established under a distinct grant to Weston, and as such was beyond the jurisdiction of the Plymouth authorities, the latter could not see their own countrymen reduced to such miserable extremities without endeavouring to do something for their relief. A joint expedition was accordingly arranged, by which certain of the Weymouth people were to embark on board the

Swan, and accompanied by the shallop belonging to the Puritans, endeavour to open a traffic with the Indians of the coast for such supplies as even the more prudent of the Pilgrims began at this time to require. At first they found the savages reluctant to have any thing to do with them. On reaching Manamoick, the first night, the savages treated them hospitably enough, so far as to bring them a sufficiency of food for immediate use; but they were evidently jealous of the presence of their guests, and heartily desired their departure. Finally, however, the interpreter, Squanto, succeeded in allaying their fears, and in effecting a traffic, by which the voyagers obtained some eight hogsheads of corn and beans.

This was the last exploit of the ambitious and cunning Squanto; while on shore at Manamoick he was suddenly taken ill of a fever. Finding his disease beyond the power of medicine, he fondly bequeathed a number of trifles as mementos to different English friends; and then turning to Governor Bradford, who was one of the party, he said, with his dying breath, "Pray for me that I may go to the Englishman's God in heaven."

CHAPTER IV.

The coasting voyage abandoned—Traffic with the Massachusetts Indians—Accident to the shallop—Prospects of an Indian conspiracy—Illness of Massasoit—Winslow's journey to him—False account of Massasoit's death—Reception of Winslow—Recovery of Massasoit—His gratitude—The plot revealed—Winslow returns to Plymouth—Action of the General Court—Standish departs for Weymouth—Arrives in the harbour—The Swan deserted—Wretched condition of Weston's people—The intentions of Standish suspected by the Indians—Their daring conduct—Speech of Pecksuot to Hobbamock—Of Wituwamat—The conflict—Death of the chief conspirators—Fortunate result—Grief of Mr. Robinson.

Owing to the death of Squanto, the object of the voyage was partially frustrated. Instead of doubling Cape Cod, and opening a communication with the Indians to the south of that peninsula, they were compelled to return and endeavour to renew a traffic with the Massachusetts Indians. In this, however, owing to the easy recklessness of the Weymouth people in their mode of bartering, they were not successful; but at Nauset, now called Eastham, they obtained some eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans. The shallop, being driven ashore in a storm, was found to have suffered more injury than could be repaired with the scanty means at their command; and as they had previously parted company with the Swan, there was no

help for it but to store the corn, and placing both that and the shallop in charge of the Indians, to return to Plymouth on foot, a distance of fifty miles. This Bradford and his companions safely accomplished. The Swan arriving soon after, an equal division was made of the corn on board, and then Weston's people returned in her to their neglected plantation.

Already there were signs and portents of what the fate of that plantation would be, if the Indians should be suffered to combine for its destruction. A dread of the Plymouth people alone prevented a full co-operation in the conspiracy which was already organized; and the chieftains found it necessary to attempt a more extensive combination, and to include both of the English settlements in their intended massacre.

But their design was providentially frustrated. Before the plan was fully arranged, tidings came to Plymouth that a small Dutch trading-vessel had been driven ashore in Narraganset Bay, near to the residence of Massasoit, and that the old chieftain was himself lying seriously ill. Winslow was immediately despatched to confer with the Dutch, and to express to Massasoit the sympathy of the Puritans. Accompanied by a London gentleman desirous of seeing the country, and by Hobbamock, who had taken the place of Squanto as interpreter, he set out about the middle of March, 1623, and lodged the first

night at Namasket, the present Middleborough, and where, at the report of his piece, certain Indians came to him with the intelligence that Massasoit was dead, and that the Dutch, having been successful in getting their shallop afloat, had sailed from the bay.

The supposed decease of Massasoit rendering it probable that Corbitant would succeed to the chieftainship, Winslow sought an interview with the latter, at his village of Mattapoiset. The distance was only three miles. As they journeyed along, Hobbamock could not conceal his grief for the loss of his ancient master. "O my chief, my dear, my loving chief!" he exclaimed; "with many have I been acquainted, but none ever equalled thee. O Master Winslow, his like you will never see again. He was not like other Indians, bloody and implacable; but kind, easily appeased when angry, and easily reconciled with offenders. He was reasonable in his requirements; was not ashamed to ask advice of those in low stations. He was a wise ruler. He governed better with mild than others chiefs did with severe measures; returning love for love. I fear you have not now a faithful friend left among the Indians." In this pathetic and moving strain Hobbamock continued to express his anguish until they arrived at the village where Corbitant resided.

The latter being absent, and his wife expressing

her ignorance of the death of Massasoit, Winslow, with some degree of reviving hope, instantly despatched a messenger to Pokanoket, to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the rumour. He returned the same evening, and reported that the chief was still living, though seemingly at the point of dissolution. Winslow at once started with his companions; and, on arriving at the village, pressed through the crowd with which the house of the chieftain was thronged, and interrupted the medicine-men in the midst of their incantations. The terrible noise, and the impure air of a room densely packed with Indians, by no means cleanly in their persons, were alone sufficient to endanger the life of a sick man. Conscious of the necessity of perfect stillness, Winslow silenced the medicine-men, ordered the others to cease their clamorous outcries, and bade those who were gathered about the rude couch of the dying man to desist from their manipulations. By this time the sight of the old chieftain had entirely failed him, but he was still sensible. When informed that his English friends had arrived, he inquired their names, and, on being told of the presence of Winslow, he expressed a desire to speak with him. Winslow immediately approached and took his hand. "Art thou Winslow?" inquired the ancient chieftain. "Yes," was the reply. "O Winslow!" said Massasoit, sorrowfully, in

his own tongue, "I shall never see thee more." But Winslow soon inspired him with hope. He told him that the Plymouth people, earnestly desiring his restoration to health, had sent some things which might be of service. Massasoit at once decided to place himself under the care of his English friends; and Winslow, taking upon the point of a knife "a confection of many comfortable conserves," inserted it between the teeth of his patient. The preparation was swallowed with great difficulty; but when the mouth and tongue of the sick man were thoroughly cleansed, he partook a second time of the confection more easily. After this, a manifest improvement took place in his condition. His sight returned; and while a messenger hastened to Plymouth for medicines and some chickens for a light broth, Winslow sustained the rallying strength of his patient by a supply of corn into which strawberry leaves and sassafras root had been infused. With returning strength came returning appetite, and by indulging to excess, the sick chief suffered a relapse; but he was again in a fair way of recovering by the time the messenger from Plymouth returned.

This noble and well-timed action greatly enhanced the regard of the Wampanoag Indians for their English friends, whose generous qualities Massasoit was never weary of extolling. Other tribes, however, were still brooding over

their sanguinary schemes. Of this Massasoit was well aware, and grateful for the kindness of which he had been the recipient, he revealed to Winslow the project for the destruction of the English settlement, and the combination which various tribes along the coast had entered into for that purpose. As the blow was first designed to fall upon Weston's worthless plantation at Weymouth, and as the Massachusetts Indians were the chief promoters of the conspiracy, Massasoit advised that Wituwamat and others of that tribe should be at once put to death by the English, as in that case the conspiracy would be immediately dissolved. Filled with these important revelations, Winslow returned in all haste to Plymouth, which he reached on the 23d of March. The court being at that time in session, Governor Bradford left it to the "body of the company" to decide what was best to be done at this crisis. It was finally concluded to intrust the conduct of the affair to the joint discretion of himself, his assistant, and the valiant Captain Standish. A determination was promptly formed. The men of Weston's colony were to be secretly informed of their danger, and of the expedition that would soon start under pretence of trade to their relief. This expedition was to consist of eight men only, under the command of Standish, a small man, but of the most indomitable courage. These instructions

were, to proceed to Weymouth and carefully note the temper of the Indians, but to avoid collision with them until such time as Wituwamat was present, whom, as the chief conspirator, they were empowered to kill, and whose head they were directed to bring with them to Plymouth.

The movements of this little war-party were quickened by the arrival of one Pratt from Weston's plantation. He reported that his companions were reduced to the most abject condition of poverty, and were in daily danger of being cut off by the Indians, who took from them all they had, and replied to every remonstrance by sanguinary threats. Deeply impressed with the danger impending over the Weymouth settlement, Standish immediately set sail. On arriving in the harbour of Wissagusset, he immediately repaired on board the Swan, and sought an interview with the colonists; but he found the ship to be utterly deserted. The report of a musket, however, brought a few of the men to the shore. Reckless of their lives, some had scattered in search of ground-nuts and other edibles, while the greater number yet remained, in equal squalidness, poverty, and imaginary security, at the plantation. The representations of Standish were the first reliable tidings they had received of the danger in which they stood. The colonists at a distance were immediately sent for, and directed to take up their residence

in the village, where Standish made his abode and coolly waited until a fit opportunity occurred for carrying out his orders. The presence of a small band of resolute men from Plymouth did not long remain unknown to the Indians. Suspecting their designs had been penetrated, they despatched a messenger to Weymouth to learn all he could of the plans and movements of Standish. He returned, and reported that the captain masked an angry heart beneath a friendly demeanour. Notwithstanding this intelligence, the chief conspirators determined to have the matter out. Pecksuot, Wituwamat, and their followers, daringly continued to frequent the miserable village, and boldly courted the danger to which they well knew they were exposed. "Tell Standish," said Pecksuot to Hobbamock, "we know he has come to kill us; but let him begin when he dare." To prove their contempt for Standish and his party, a number of Indians would enter the rude fort, and whet their knives before the English, accompanying the action with taunts and contemptuous gestures. As if to try the prudence of the fiery captain to the utmost, Pecksuot sneeringly told him, that though he was reported a great captain, he was but a little man. "It is I," said he, "although no chieftain, that have great strength and courage." Nor was the conduct of Wituwamat less insulting. Boasting of his knife, on the handle of which

a woman's face was carved, he said, "I have another at home, with a man's face upon it, that has killed both French and English: by and by the two must marry." Then, in allusion to the perfect silence with which such a weapon could be used, he hinted at his sanguinary purpose by saying, "By and by this knife shall see, and by and by it shall eat—but not speak."

Standish bore with these malignant speeches and bravadoes until the following day, when, meeting with Pecksuot, Wituwamat, and two others, in a private house, the numbers on each side being equal, the stout-hearted captain gave orders to have the door fastened, and then suddenly confronting Pecksuot, seized upon the Indian's knife, as it hung about his neck, and drove it into his body. The other savages were attacked at the same moment, and for a while the struggle was both desperate and doubtful. Fierce as the conflict was, it was conducted in perfect silence. Fighting furiously to the last, the Indians continued to wrestle with their resolute adversaries, and to clutch at the ensanguined weapons, until three of them, pierced with numerous wounds, fell upon the floor. The fourth, a younger brother of Wituwamat, and as villanous as himself, was not slain with his companions, but suffered death by hanging shortly after.

All this time Hobbamock, neither aiding one party nor the other, stood calmly by, and silently

watched the fearful progress of the conflict. When it had terminated in favour of the English, he approached Standish and said, "Yesterday Pecksuot boasted of his strength and stature; but I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground." Sending word to the remainder of his command to slay all the Indians they could meet with, Standish left the village under a guard of Weston's people, and set out the next day, with a portion of his own company and one or two of the Weymouth men, to beat up the haunts of the outlying savages. After journeying for some time, they suddenly encountered a small band of warriors who had set out from a neighbouring village for the purpose of revenging upon the English the death of their friends. A brief skirmish ensued, which terminated in favour of Standish. The Indians fled, and the captain, having created the impression he desired, returned to Plymouth.

The testimony of an Indian boy showed how great had been the peril which this decisive conduct had averted. He stated that the conspirators were only waiting for the completion of some canoes, which were being constructed by three of Weston's people for the chief with whom they had taken refuge. The design then was, by the aid of these canoes, to have captured the vessel in the harbour, and to have attempted a simultaneous massacre of the English, both

there and at Plymouth. Nor was this plan without its chances of success. Already the revengeful successor of Powhattan in Virginia had almost annihilated that unfortunate colony; and a similar attempt, from the smaller number of colonists, would have been far easier of execution against the New England plantations. Happily, however, by this exercise of a timely severity, the conspiracy was effectually crushed, although it was thought advisable that the Weymouth people should abandon their ill-governed plantation, in order to avoid the risk of falling victims to those retaliatory measures to which they would necessarily be exposed. Such of them as desired to sail for the coast of Maine, and thence to England, were permitted to embark on board the vessel in the harbour, Standish generously furnishing them from his own limited store with a small supply of corn. Those who concluded to join the Puritan settlement at Plymouth he took with him in his shallop. In obedience to instructions, the head of Wituwamat was carried to the governor, who directed it to be stuck upon a pole, and set up in an exposed place within the fort as an admonition to the Indians by whom the village was frequented.

Some of the nicer moralists among the Puritans were disposed to doubt the exact justice of this famous exploit by Standish; and when the news reached Holland, their tender-hearted pas-

tor, Mr. Robinson, could not conceal his sorrow that blood should have been spilled. In writing to his New England friends concerning the affair, he exclaimed, "Oh, how happy a thing it would have been, if you had converted some before you killed any." But the act, severe as it appeared, was without doubt a justifiable one, and that it was productive of the best effects cannot be questioned. The suddenness of the English assault, though not terminating in the loss of many lives, inspired the Indians with such a wholesome terror that those who were most guilty, fearful the English would follow up their plan of vengeance, withdrew into the woods and swamps, where they endured hunger and privations which shortened the lives of some of the principal conspirators.

A small boat, loaded with presents, was at length despatched by them to the governor as a peace-offering; but it was wrecked while on its voyage to Plymouth, and three of its crew were drowned. This disaster deeply impressed itself upon the superstitious minds of the poor savages, who, in the ecstasy of their terror, remembered the prediction of their chief men, and openly proclaimed that the God of the English was angry with them, and that their destruction was at hand.

CHAPTER V.

Gratitude of the colonists—Captain Robert Gorges—His charter for part of Massachusetts Bay—Appointed Lieutenant-Governor for New England—West commissioned as admiral—Weston's plantation re-opened—Ill success of Gorges—He quits the country—West sails for Virginia—John Pierce—His charter—Purchased by the Plymouth Company—Arrival of third supply—Day of thanksgiving ordered—Winslow sails for England—Returns—John Lyford—Religious disputes—Wollaston's plantation—Morton of Merry Mount—His capture and imprisonment—Lyford and Conant at Nantucket—Settlement at Naumkeag—Origin of the Massachusetts Company—Patent obtained—Arrival of Endicott and others at Naumkeag—Second supply for Massachusetts—Organization of the church at Salem—Expulsion of the Brownes—The charter transferred to Massachusetts—Embarkation of Winthrop—Sufferings of the colonists—Arabella Johnson—Isaac Johnson—His death and burial.

Long subsequent to the settlement of Plymouth, it was remembered with feelings of pious gratitude, that after the loss of those dear friends who first fell victims to exposure, the deprivation of former comforts, and the unaccustomed nature of the climate, there was not a single death among the remaining colonists for more than three years.

The prompt manner also with which the Indian conspiracy had been suppressed tended greatly to insure the future safety of the feeble but resolute settlers. From this period, although

they increased but slowly in numbers, they were freed, for the space of fifty years, from the sanguinary excesses of Indian hostilities.

Notwithstanding, however, the acknowledged feebleness of the Plymouth colony, its prospects of eventual success were sufficiently flattering to induce Captain Robert Gorges, son to the enterprising Sir Ferdinando, to obtain, in 1623, from the English Council for New England, a charter for territory on the north-west side of Massachusetts Bay, extending ten miles along the coast for breadth, and, for length, running back thirty miles inland. In order to maintain their right to the fisheries, and to prevent adventurers from settling upon their lands without a patent, the council appointed Gorges Lieutenant-Governor of New England, and commissioned Mr. Francis West as Vice-Admiral. In conjunction with a council, to be composed of West and the governor of the Plymouth colony, Gorges, clothed with full powers "to restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs," set sail for the wilderness which was to be the seat of his government, bringing over with him a number of labourers to commence a settlement upon the lands embraced within his patent. He was also accompanied by Mr. Morrell, a clergyman of the Church of England, whom the Archbishop of Canterbury had sent out to America as commissary of ecclesiastical affairs.

The loosely-defined territory for which he had a patent not proving to his liking, Gorges took possession of the plantation deserted by Weston's people; but his official authority being lightly regarded by those who had preceded him, and his individual projects not proving successful, he returned to England within the year. The career of Admiral West in New England was equally brief. He had been instructed by the council to permit no fishermen or trading adventurers to pursue their avocations upon the coast without taking out a license; but his orders being disregarded, and being too weak to enforce them, he finally sailed for Virginia.

In the mean while, the grant which the Plymouth colonists had obtained from the Virginia Company proving valueless, another patent had been obtained in the name of John Pierce as trustee. The latter, however, with certain private views of aggrandizement, sought and obtained a new charter from the English proprietaries, under which he would have endeavoured to hold the Puritan settlers as his tenants, and compelled them to "sue in his courts as chief lord," if, in two attempts to reach America with additional colonists, he had not been providentially driven back by storms. Other reverses of fortune following soon after, he was induced to sell his charter to the Pilgrims and

their associates for the sum of five hundred pounds.

During the month of August, the third supply of emigrants, to the number of sixty, came over in the Ann and Little Jane, bringing with them supplies for the colonists.

The want of food was so general at this time among the people of Plymouth, that the best they could offer the new-comers was a dish of lobsters and a cup of fair spring-water. The arrival of these vessels was, therefore, hailed as a deliverance from impending famine, and a day of thanksgiving was specially set apart in consequence.

When the Ann was laden with furs and clapboards, Winslow returned in her to England, to negotiate a loan from capitalists in that country. He succeeded, with great difficulty, in effecting the object of his mission, and having freighted a vessel with his supplies and a few cattle, he again set sail for the colony, where he arrived in March, 1624. Among those who came with him at this time, was John Lyford, an Episcopalian clergyman, who, professing himself a convert to the Puritan doctrines, was admitted to church membership. Lyford, however, still advocated the administration of the sacrament, and from this source sprang up religious disputes which ended in the expulsion of Lyford from Plymouth, together with Oldham and Conant, his most pro-

minent supporters. They removed to Nantasket soon after, where they joined a small settlement, composed principally of fishermen. Many of the London partners being unfavourable to a complete separation from the Church of England, they greatly censured the conduct of the Plymouth authorities towards Lyford, the more especially as he had been sent out on their recommendation. Another source of annoyance was the partnership itself. The system of common property being found to have a depressing influence upon the industry of the colonists, it was determined, in 1624, to grant an acre of land to each family in fee, and by this simple and judicious arrangement not only was famine averted for the future, but the product of corn soon became greater than was required by the settlers for their own consumption.

At this period the town of Plymouth consisted of but thirty-four dwelling-houses and one hundred and eighty-four inhabitants; nor was it until after the lapse of ten years from its settlement that the colony began to exhibit a steadily accelerating increase.

In 1625 Captain Wollaston, with a company of thirty persons, founded a plantation on Massachusetts Bay, not far from where Weston and Gorges had previously made their unsuccessful attempt at settlement.

The chief command over this new plantation,

which was called Mount Wollaston, was speedily usurped by one Morton, a reckless, roystering attorney, who changed the name to Merry Mount, set all the indented servants free, and, erecting a maypole, lived a jolly life until all the provisions and the stock, intended for traffic with the Indians, were exhausted. This dashing career was not of long continuance. Undertaking to sell guns and ammunition to the Indians, and to teach them the use of them, the neighbouring planters became greatly alarmed, and petitioned the Plymouth people to remove so dangerous an adventurer. Their petition was not disregarded. Captain Standish was despatched with an armed force to their assistance. Morton was arrested and taken to Plymouth, where he was held in close confinement until a favourable opportunity occurred of sending him prisoner to England.

When Lyford sought refuge among the fishermen at Nantasket, or Cape Ann, he again entered upon the functions of the ministry by appointment from the English company by whom the station had been established. Through the influence of his brother, Roger Conant also obtained the office of overseer or agent to the adventurers. The enterprise, proving unprofitable, was abandoned after a year's trial. Lyford sailed for Virginia, but Conant, with three companions, and a flock of cattle, removed in the autumn of 1626 to Naumkeak, now called Salem, with the

design of opening a new and better place of refuge to such of the Puritan persuasion as might be disposed to emigrate. In this project Conant was supported by Mr. White, a clergyman of Dorchester in England, and one of the chief promoters of the lately abandoned settlement at Nantasket. Animated by the desire to found a colony to be composed of the choicest members from among those of the Puritan persuasion, Mr. White exerted himself with great zeal to effect his object. He was speedily successful.

On the 19th of March, 1628, the council for New England granted to six gentlemen residing in the west of England, a tract of land on Massachusetts Bay, three miles south of Charles River, and three miles north of the River Merrimack, and extending across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Shortly after this grant had been obtained, three of the original patentees parted with their rights to John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others to whom the enterprise had recommended itself.

This wealthy and influential company were no sooner in possession of the grant, than John Endicott, one of the original patentees, a gentleman admirably qualified for the rugged duties he was deputed to undertake, was intrusted with the chief control of the affairs of the colony, and

sent over with planters and indented servants to commence a settlement. The emigrants, about one hundred in number, were welcomed by Conant to Naumkeag.

From this point Endicott sent three brothers, by the name of Sprague, to explore the head of Massachusetts Bay. Upon the peninsula between the Mystick and Charles rivers, they found a settlement of Indians, and one thatched house in the possession of Thomas Walford, a smith. A nonconforming clergyman by the name of Blackstone, resided on the opposite peninsula of Shawmut. Maverick, an Indian trader, occupied a small fort on the island, which is now known as East Boston; while David Thompson had seated himself upon an island to the south, to which he had given his name. A few other settlers were also scattered at intervals along the coast of the bay.

From the influential character of the gentlemen who had embarked in it, the project of colonizing Massachusetts Bay speedily became popular. Numerous adventurers, some of whom were from Boston in Lincolnshire, joined the company. And, on the 4th of March, 1629, after a great exertion of influence, and a considerable expenditure in money, the patent from the Council for New England, with authority to exercise gubernatorial power, was confirmed by Charles I.

The corporation thus established, under the

style of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, was organized shortly after, by the election of Craddock and Goffe, two London merchants, as governor and deputy-governor. The entire control of the proposed colony was assumed by the English stockholders: Endicott, the governor of the colony, with his council of twelve, being controlled by instructions from the former.

On the 29th of June, the second supply of emigrants, two hundred in number, having with them three accepted ministers, reached Naumkeag, or Salem, in five ships, where they found those who had previously come over with Governor Endicott. Three hundred planters were now congregated at Salem, but one-third of them speedily removed to Charlestown, where a settlement had already been commenced. On the 20th of July, Mr. Higginson was elected teacher, and Mr. Skelton pastor of the company; and on the 6th of August, when the elders and deacons were ordained, the church at Salem was for the first time duly organized.

Being Nonconformists while in England, the colonists, now free to assert their religious liberty, separated wholly from the Church by abolishing the litany and other ceremonies pertaining to the English ritual. Some few, however, were unprepared to assent to so great a change; and prominent among these were John

and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer of some eminence, the other a merchant, both gentlemen of property, and both members of the Colonial Council. Upholding the use of the litany, they withdrew from the newly-established congregation, and being joined by others of similar religious views, formed themselves into a separate society. In consequence of this difference, a warm controversy arose, which Endicott finally put a stop to by seizing the Brownes, and sending them back prisoners to England, under a charge of sedition.

In the mean time the company in England had formed a project for removing the seat of the corporation from England to Massachusetts Bay, by transferring the charter to those who should inhabit the colony.

This important proposition was no sooner adopted than John Winthrop, and a number of other gentlemen of wealth and influence, formed the determination to emigrate. A new agreement was accordingly made with such of the stockholders as remained behind, whereby they were to retain an interest in the company for seven years, proportioned to the amount of one-third of their original subscription. New officers were also chosen. On the 20th of October, John Winthrop was elected governor, and John Humphrey deputy-governor; but the latter remaining in England, Thomas Dudley was chosen in his

stead. Preparations were now made for emigrating upon a scale commensurate with the means of the adventurers. Before the close of the year 1630, eleven ships, with over fifteen hundred passengers, reached New England. The Arbella, bearing Winthrop and several of his assistants, arrived at Salem on the 12th of June. The poorer emigrants, on disembarking, refreshed themselves with the wild strawberry which ripened in profusion along the neighbouring slopes; but the tidings which Winthrop and his companions met were both gloomy and disheartening. Of the three hundred colonists at Salem and Charlestown, eighty had already died, and many others were enfeebled by sickness. Of corn, there remained not more than a supply sufficient for two weeks.

The necessity of selecting places for settlement, and for making provision, as early as possible, against the inclemency of the winter season, induced Winthrop, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, to leave Salem on the 17th of June, for the purpose of examining the peninsula of Charlestown. Here they at first concluded to settle themselves, but finally crossed to the opposite side of Charles River, and laid the foundation of Boston. Accustomed from childhood to the comforts of life, those who were wealthy among the new-comers were even less able to support the hardships inseparable from

a life in the wilderness, than the servants they had already manumitted. Quenching their thirst with brackish water, residing in poor huts, and exposed to the influences of an unaccustomed climate, so many of them soon sickened and died, that before the year closed they had lost two hundred of their original number. One hundred others, affrighted and disheartened, abandoned the colony and returned to England. Among those whose untimely death was greatly deplored by the early chroniclers, was the lady Arabella Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure into a wildnerness of wants; and although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and in a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed." Stricken with grief for her loss, her husband did not long survive her. Pious, wealthy, and charitable, he too had entwined himself around the hearts of his sorrowing companions, and in the midst of his great bereavement, rejoiced "that he had lived to see a church of Christ gathered in America." Removed early from communion with his friends, their affection still clung to him, even in death, and around the grave of Isaac Johnson they directed that their graves should lovingly cluster.

CHAPTER VI.

Settlements in New England—Discouraging reports—Winthrop—His piety and beneficence—Political changes—Arrival of Cotton and Stone—Dudley chosen governor—Power of the commons asserted—First house of delegates—Emigration—Charges preferred in England against the Massachusetts colony—The demand for a return of the charter evaded—Morton's letters—Preparations for defence—Civil dissensions—Roger Williams—Asserts freedom of conscience—Is banished—Settles Rhode Island—Opposition to Winthrop—His accusers rebuked—Arrival of Vane and Hugh Peters—Fort Saybrook built—Emigration to Connecticut—Popularity of Vane—Chosen governor of Massachusetts—Growing discontent—Anne Hutchinson—Her doctrines—Supported by Vane—Warm religious disputes—Convention of churches—Banishment of Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson—Her tragic death—War with the Pequods—Advance into their country—Attack on Mistick Fort—Pursuit of Sassacus—Extermination of the Pequod tribe.

The emigrants who came over to New England, either as stockholders or under the auspices of the Massachusetts Company, did not all settle in one place. Some remained at Salem, and while the party under Winthrop were building their habitations at Boston and Charlestown, others established themselves at Roxbury, Dorchester, Watertown, Medford, and Lynn. But the unfavourable reports made in England by those who had been impelled by fear to abandon the infant colony, caused all further emigration

to languish, and for two years the number of arrivals did not equal the loss of the colonists by death or desertion.

During this season of trial, the mild and patient Winthrop sustained by his cheerfulness, and assisted by his means, all those who most needed his counsel or his aid. Leaning to an aristocratic form of government, he yet yielded gracefully to the expressed will of the people; and when, after some slight previous changes, it was resolved by the general court, which met in May, 1632, to elect the governor and assistants annually by popular voice, he acknowledged the right of the people to institute their own form of government by accepting office at their hands.

As the prospects of the colonists brightened, many of their friends in England came over and joined them. During the year 1633, large numbers of emigrants arrived, and among them John Haynes, "a gentleman of great estate," with Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, three ministers of great learning and piety. Mr. Cotton, by the advice of the principal authorities, was ordained minister of the church at Boston, while Hooker and Stone settled at Newtown, the present Cambridge.

Up to this period Mr. Winthrop had been continued in the office of governor; but at the annual election of 1635, Dudley, formerly de-

puty-governor, was chosen in his stead, notwithstanding the influence of Cotton, who, siding with Winthrop, declared in his sermon before the General Court that a magistrate ought not to be deprived of his office without just cause, "no more than a private man should be turned out of his freehold without trial." The popular will, however, being bent upon making extensive political changes, chose Dudley to the magistracy. Denying the opinion of Winthrop that the "commons" had not yet among them men capable of undertaking the duties of legislation, the general court, composed of all the freemen of the colony, asserted its supremacy by claiming, as a right, "the power to admit freemen, the choosing of all principal officers, the making of laws, granting lands, raising money, and the revision, by way of appeal, of all civil and criminal procedures." In the general court, held quarterly, but subsequently changed to semi-annually, the people were to be represented by delegates, elected annually by the towns, and clothed with the full voice and authority of all the freemen.

These important changes being adopted, three delegates from each of the eight plantations were speedily chosen, and taking their seats with the magistrates in the Meeting House at Boston, organized the first house of representatives in the colony.

All this summer, emigrants sailed from Eng-

land in such great numbers, that during the season as many as fourteen vessels a month arrived at the various New England plantations. In the mean time the Privy Council at London, alarmed by the misrepresentations of Morton of Merry Mount, Sir Christopher Gardiner, also an expelled colonist, and others, had appointed a commission, with Laud at its head, clothed with full power over the American plantations, even to the revocation of their charters. The commission had demanded of Craddock a return of the Massachusetts patent; but the requisition was evaded by the authorities in New England, on the plea of inability to act until the next meeting of the general court.

The uneasiness of the colonists was greatly increased about this time by a letter from Morton to his "very good gossip," one Jefferies, a resident of New England, stating that the king in council had declared the Massachusetts patent void; and, resuming his authority over the territory, had commissioned a governor-general for New England. A fortification upon Castle Island, in Boston harbour, was immediately determined upon; and at the meeting of the general council in September, a sum of money was appropriated to defray the expense of the work. The fort in the town was ordered to be armed, and authority given to commence the construction of forts at Charlestown and Dorchester.

But even at this period of anxiety and suspense, the colonists were not free from internal disputes, arising from a difference of opinion in regard to the respective powers of the magistrates and the deputies.

Charmed by the reports they had received of the fertile low lands bordering the Connecticut River, the people at Cambridge requested permission to settle there; but the magistrates declined to authorize their removal, although the deputies, who formed a majority of the whole court, were willing to consent to the desires of the petitioners. A division being thus created, the power of the magistrates to enforce their negative was hotly questioned. Angry contentions arising, the court was adjourned for a brief season. Upon the reassembling of the members, Mr. Cotton came to the rescue of the magistrates, and in his sermon defended their negative. His arguments were respected; and the petitioners agreeing to accept other lands in the vicinity, in place of those upon which they were settled, the question at issue was for the time being amicably evaded.

Nor was it at Boston only that disputes with the magistracy took place about this time. At Salem the young and enthusiastic Roger Williams had proclaimed, among various other opinions obnoxious to the authorities, "that to punish a man for any matters of conscience was persecution."

Alarmed at the vigour with which he maintained his doctrines, the Plymouth magistrates demanded a copy of a manuscript treatise he had written, denying the validity of a royal patent to lands in America; but, moved by the letter he wrote in explanation of the work, they forbore from dealing with him with severity on that score, on condition that he should take an oath of allegiance to the king. He had scarcely freed himself from this difficulty, before he far more seriously compromised himself with the civil government, by stimulating Endicott to cut the cross out of the king's colours, as a relic of Antichrist. Various attempts which were made on subsequent occasions failing to change his opinions, he was at length banished from the jurisdiction. His church at Salem, which had hitherto clung to him with a half-wavering steadfastness, now became alarmed and turned from him. Still maintaining, among other doctrines less tenable, the noble tenet of liberty of conscience in religious matters, he gathered around him a few faithful adherents, and held religious service in his own house, which he had permission to occupy until the opening of spring.

In the hour of trial the veteran Bradford honoured his sincerity while he regretted his doctrines; and Morton, the historian, spoke warmly of his many admirable qualities. Many others also began to believe in the "godliness"

of the fearless young minister; and the magistrates, apprehensive lest he should draw off a portion of the people and found a new settlement outside the bounds to which their authority extended, finally concluded to avert the threatened danger by sending him under arrest to England. Having timely information of their purpose, Williams departed from Salem in mid-winter. After wandering alone for many weeks through the leafless, snow-covered forests, partaking of such scanty fare as the straggling settler or poorer Indian could afford him, he finally passed over to Rhode Island, in the summer of 1636, and, with five companions, laid the foundation of a new colony. Here, as governor and adviser, he resided for forty years. Blameless in his life, and austerely just in his acts, bearing no malice toward those by whom he had been exiled, but desirous only of promoting the common welfare, he devoted himself to this humane purpose with the same ardour as he proclaimed and defended the peculiar tenets he had espoused.

Endicott, who was commander at Salem, for his mutilation of the colours, and his defence of a letter written by Williams to the magistrates, was sentenced by the court to be "sadly admonished," and disabled for a year from holding any office under the commonwealth.

Nor was the mildly aristocratic Winthrop without his enemies. He was scarcely removed from

the office of chief magistrate before a statement of his receipts and disbursements of the public moneys was demanded at his hands. He cheerfully complied with the ungracious requisition, and triumphantly vindicated the unsullied purity of his conduct.

Early in the spring of 1635 the arrival of vessels freighted with emigrants and stores commenced. The number of new-comers continued to increase as the summer advanced, and before the close of the year three thousand additional settlers found a welcome and a home upon the shores of New England. Among these, young Mr. Winthrop returned from a visit to England, accompanied by his father-in-law, Hugh Peters, pastor to a congregation of Puritan exiles in Holland, and Henry Vane, a gentleman in the first flush of manhood, but less noticeable as the son of a privy counsellor than for his exalted piety and for a fervent devotion to the cause of liberty which eventually brought his head to the block.

These three gentlemen having been appointed commissioners for Connecticut, by the noble proprietors of that province, caused Fort Saybrook to be built at the mouth of Connecticut River, which they supplied with a competent garrison and munitions of war. By this measure the Dutch were effectually precluded from forming any settlements beyond the limits of the trading

house they had already established; and were soon to be restricted to a few acres surrounding it.

In the mean time, the congregation of Mr. Hooker, though quieted for a season, still yearned to migrate to the banks of the Connecticut. The representations of Oldham, formerly expelled with Roger Conant and Lyford to Nantucket, and now become an Indian trader, being corroborated by the reports of others, they again sought permission to remove. Gaining, with some difficulty, leave from the general court, they sold their lands at Cambridge, in the spring of 1636, to a congregation newly arrived from England, under the spiritual charge of Mr. Shepard, and headed by their ministers, Hooker and Stone, departed on foot into the wilderness, bearing with them their wives and children, and driving their cattle before them.

This difficult journey through the rugged and dangerous forest, and over mountain and morass, with no guide but the compass and the slender trail left by the small company from Dorchester, who, under Ludlow, formerly deputy-governor, had migrated the previous fall, being accomplished in about two weeks, the weary travellers sat themselves down on the west bank of the Connecticut River, fifty miles from its mouth, where they laid the foundation of a town, to which they gave the name of Hartford.

Vane, the youthful commissioner for Con-

necticut, speedily became a favourite with the people of Massachusetts. Attracted by his deep piety, the grave suavity of his manners, and his devotion to the Puritan cause, in 1636, the year following his arrival, they chose him governor, although he was then not much more than twenty-four years of age. With a spice of that natural vanity excusable in one so young, he gave an added dignity to his office by adopting a certain degree of magisterial state. When he moved to court or church, four sergeants, armed with halberds, preceded him. For a few months his administration prospered; but toward the close of the year the people grew discontented, and Vane, receiving letters of recall from England, requested permission to resign his authority. This course produced some degree of agitation in the popular mind; and though the general court reluctantly agreed to submit to the apparent necessity for his departure, Mr. Cotton, his close friend, and the congregation at Boston, prevailed upon him to remain among them until the close of his term of office. Religious differences were the cause, in a great degree, of the partial disfavour into which Vane had fallen. Countenanced by Vane, Cotton, and many others, Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of a gentleman in good repute, for some time a resident of the colony and a representative of Boston in the general court, established private religious

meetings for those of her own sex, at which the sermons preached by the ministers the Sabbath preceding were taken up, examined, and criticised. For a while her lectures were popular; but when she began to separate the ministers and their followers throughout the colony into two distinct but very unequal parties, charging the larger moiety with being under a covenant of works, while the lesser only was under a covenant of grace, contentions arose, and disputatious correspondences were carried on, which at one time seriously threatened to break up the settlement. Being in her turn charged by Winthrop, and those who thought with him, of advocating two capital errors in doctrine, one of which was, "that the Holy Spirit dwells in personal union with a justified person," and the other, that "sanctification was not necessary for justification," her cause, embraced with ardour by Vane, was also partially espoused by Cotton and her brother-in-law, Wheelwright, a minister of some eminence. Protected by these popular men, she continued her lectures until the following year, when Winthrop was chosen governor, and Vane returned to England. Many persons having in the mean time adopted her opinions, the general court finally concluded to call a council of the churches. The synod was held at Cambridge on the 30th of August, 1637; and, after a discussion which lasted three weeks, con-

demned as erroneous some eighty obnoxious opinions which had been set afloat in the colony.

The power of the general court being thus strengthened by the voice of the clergy, they proceeded to expel, soon after, two of their own members for justifying seditious practices; and demanded of Wheelwright a retraction of his course and an acknowledgment of his offence. This being refused, he was condemned as a disturber of the peace, disfranchised, and ordered to quit the colony within fourteen days.

Mrs. Hutchinson was next summoned before the court to answer the charge of "traducing the ministers and their ministry in the country." After a protracted trial, she also was condemned to banishment; and Hutchinson, making sale of his estate, removed with his wife and children to Rhode Island, where he purchased a tract of land from the Indians. The subsequent fate of this gifted and enthusiastic woman was deeply tragical. After living through the winter in a cave upon the island, hostilities broke out between the Dutch of New Netherlands and the natives, and, in the confusion which ensued, she fell a sacrifice to the fury of the savages.

Previous to this, however, and during the heat of those religious disputes to which Mrs. Anne Hutchinson finally became a victim, an expedition was undertaken by Massachusetts against the Pequod tribe of Indians, in retribution for

several murders they had latterly committed; one of the victims being Oldham, the Indian trader. During the autumn of 1636, eighty men, commanded by Endicott, marched against them, but returned to Boston on the approach of winter without accomplishing any thing. The Pequods continuing their hostilities by cutting off settlers, and increasing so much in boldness as to besiege for several weeks the garrison at Fort Saybrook, an alliance was formed by the English colonies with the Narragansets, with whom the Pequods had previously sought to unite. Early in 1637 the combined forces of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, supported by a strong body of Indian auxiliaries, prepared to take the field. A detachment of forty men, commanded by Captain Patrick, an officer who had served in the Low Countries under the Prince of Orange, was thrown forward by Massachusetts in advance of the main body to form a junction with the Connecticut levies under Captain Mason; but the latter, having under him sixty Connecticut militia, and being further reinforced by twenty Massachusetts men, commanded by Captain Underhill, a resolute enthusiast, and three hundred Indian auxiliaries, without waiting for further support, penetrated the Pequod country, and marched at once to invest the two stockade forts within which the enemy had ensconced themselves. On learning that Sassacus, the

chief sachem, was in command of the principal fort, one-third of the Indians, struck with terror, refused to proceed and returned to their homes. The distance being yet eight miles to the fort where Sassacus was, and the men being wearied with carrying the weight of their arms and provisions, it was finally concluded to commence the assault upon the nearer fort, which was at Mistick.

Under the guidance of a Pequod Indian, named Wequash, they reached the vicinity of the stockade undiscovered, about midnight, and distinctly heard the Indians within feasting and making great rejoicing, under the impression that the English had taken a different route. About daybreak on the 26th of May, they approached the fort while its garrison was buried in profound sleep; and, piloted by Wequash, reached the gate. The barking of a dog within the enclosure was the first intimation the Pequods received of the danger with which they were menaced. With a piercing yell, the alarmed savages sprang to their arms; but were speedily thrown into confusion by the English, who fired upon them through the openings between the palisades. Mason was first to enter the fort with his men; and the remainder joining him soon after, through various openings, a terrific conflict commenced, during which the surprised garrison fought with the energy of despair. But

the superior arms and discipline of the English were soon found to be more than a match for the frailer weapons of their savage antagonists; and Mason, setting fire to the wigwams, of which there were some sixty or seventy within the enclosure, the terrified Indians endeavoured to escape by scaling the palisades. In this exposed and defenceless situation many were shot down; while those who succeeded in escaping for the moment, met their death soon after by the hands of the Indian auxiliaries who encircled the outside of the stockade. Scarcely one escaped. The work of slaughter being ended, the English, with the loss of three killed, embarked their numerous wounded on board some vessels which had opportunely ascended the river, the main body returning overland to Fort Saybrook, where the vessels also arrived the following day.

The result of this fearful onslaught effectually broke the power of the Pequods. Sassacus, with the feeble remains of his tribe, abandoned his fort, and, burning his wigwams, made an attempt to escape from the country over which he had so long ruled; but the Massachusetts forces under Stoughton arriving at Saybrook early in June, the pursuit was renewed with increased activity. The Pequod fugitives being at length surrounded in a swamp, where they had sought refuge,—and preferring to die fight-

ing rather than submit to the terms which were offered,—fell there, one by one, until at the close of the battle, with very few exceptions, the whole tribe was exterminated.

CHAPTER VII.

New Haven founded—Increase of emigration—Harvard College established—Population of the province—Emigration checked—Feeling of discouragement in New England—The Bahama Islands—Colonists from New England—Fired upon by the Spaniards—Return of the adventurers—Commissioners sent to England—Fate of Hugh Peters—Wheelright—Settles at Exeter—Underhill—His banishment from Massachusetts—Becomes Governor of Exeter—Is forcibly expelled—The jurisdiction of Massachusetts extended—Indian plot—Conduct of Miantinomo—Gorton—His doctrines—Whipped at Plymouth—At Rhode Island—Removes to Providence—Settles at Showamet—Is arrested and carried to Boston—Harsh sentence imposed upon him and his followers—Union of the New England colonies—Indian war—Execution of Miantinomo—Submission of the Narragansets—Witchcraft in Massachusetts—Instance of credulity—Death of Winthrop—His character.

During the year 1637, the town of New Haven was founded by a company of newly-arrived emigrants, of whom the most influential were Mr. Davenport, a minister eminent for his learning and piety, Mr. Hopkins, and his father-in-law Mr. Eaton, respectable London merchants. New Haven continued a distinct colony until 1665, when it was incorporated with Connecticut.

Winthrop was re-elected governor of Massachusetts in 1638; and, notwithstanding some movements which were attempted in England to procure the annulment of the charter held by the colony, no less than twenty ships, bearing three thousand emigrants, came over this year.

By a bequest from John Harvard, a minister at Charlestown, an addition of nearly eight hundred pounds sterling was made to the sum already appropriated for a public school at Cambridge, which, in compliment to the testator, was ordered henceforth to take the name of Harvard College.

At the election of 1639, Winthrop was continued in the office he so worthily filled: but the following year Dudley was chosen governor, and Winthrop took his seat as one of the assistants.

From the first landing of the Pilgrims to the year 1640, there had arrived in New England, in two hundred and ninety-eight ships, twenty-one thousand two hundred passengers. But at this period, owing to the success of the Puritan cause in England, the tide of emigration was stayed.

This sudden check to increase of population from abroad, had, for a season, a marked effect upon the fortunes of the New England colonies. Prices of cattle, at that time the main dependence of the New England farmer, fell to about one-sixth of their previous marketable value; and as

the soil yielded but an indifferent compensation for the labour bestowed upon it, many persons became greatly discouraged. At this period of uneasiness, Lord Say and Seal, having turned his attention to colonizing the Bahama Islands, sought to increase the number of settlers from the north country by emigration from New England. In this object, assisted by Humphries, once deputy-governor, and still one of the assistants, he was not altogether unsuccessful; though Winthrop clung bravely to the colony which had prospered under his guardianship, and wrote to Lord Say and Seal that God would never have sent his people to New England, "if he had not seen the place sufficient to maintain them, or intended to make it so." Some of the colonists having, however, concluded to make a trial of the new home which had been offered them, a company embarked, during the year 1641, on board a vessel commanded by Captain Pierce, and sailed for Providence, the second in point of size of the Bahama Islands. When they reached their place of destination, they were suddenly fired upon by a Spanish garrison, who in the mean time had seized possession of the island. Captain Pierce being shot dead in this unexpected attack, the vessel was put about, and the proposed scheme of emigration ended abruptly.

The dissatisfaction of a portion of the colonists with the depressed condition of things evinced

itself in the defeat of Winthrop for governor, and the choice of Bellingham in his stead, by a small and dubious majority. The general court was at first disposed to contest the legality of the election; but, after a long series of angry disputations, Bellingham was admitted to his seat.

To support the interests of the colony, during the quarrel between the king and parliament, Mr. Weld and Hugh Peters were sent as commissioners to England. Neither of them ever returned to America. Weld finally settled as a minister at Gateshead, but was expelled from his living at the restoration of Charles II. Peters embraced with ardour the cause of the Parliament; and, like Vane, suffered death for his reputed treason.

Wheelwright, who had been exiled from the colony for his Antinomian opinions, settled, with some thirty-four followers, "on the south side of the great bay up Piscataqua River," where they opened a plantation to which they gave the name of Exeter. Here, subsequently, he was joined by Underhill, whose tenets were of a familistic character, and who was wont to boast of having obtained his religious assurance "while he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco;" but it appears that the true character of his "assurance" was of a far different complexion, inasmuch as he had been convicted of grossly immoral practices in Massachusetts, and

excommunicated. He, however, managed to ingratiate himself with the people of Exeter, who chose him for their governor; but the opposition to him was so great, and religious dissensions, both at Exeter and the neighbouring settlement at Dover, became so violent, that it was found necessary to expel Underhill and his friend Knolles, a licentious Antinomian minister, before the distracted settlements could be restored to any degree of harmony.

An inquiry into the limits of the Massachusetts patent resulting in bringing within the jurisdiction of that colony the settlements at Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and other small villages on the Piscataqua River, it was resolved to put an end to the distractions which agitated those hitherto independent and ill governed plantations by extending over them the authority of the general court, to which, in return, they were allowed to send two deputies. So soon as commissioners were appointed to carry this order into effect, Wheelwright, and others who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government of Massachusetts, retired from Exeter, and established themselves in the province of Maine.

In 1642, Winthrop was again chosen governor. Soon after his election tidings was received from various sources, but chiefly from friendly Indians, that the Narragansets were plotting a general massacre of the colonists. This news was the

more alarming inasmuch as the savages were beginning to be accustomed to the use of fire-arms, of which they had been enabled to procure a large supply from the Dutch at Manahattan and from reckless English traders. The most vigorous preparations were instantly made to avert the threatened danger. Connecticut was eager to anticipate an attack by commencing hostilities at once; but the more prudent counsels of Massachusetts prevailed. The Indians within the colony were disarmed, and Miantinomo, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, appeared in person before the court at Boston, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers. Though not actually acquitted of the charge, he was finally dismissed in safety; and being made fully aware of the suspicions which were aroused against him, he abandoned his sanguinary intentions, if indeed he had ever meditated any.

The office of governor was again confided to Winthrop during the year 1643; but the colony was not destined to remain long at one time undisturbed by religious differences. One Samuel Gorton, by advocating heterodox principles, had drawn around him a number of followers. Being called upon to explain his doctrines, he was so far successful in defending himself before his judges as to escape condemnation. Removing soon after to Plymouth, he was seized by order of the authorities of that colony,

tried, found guilty, and publicly whipped. Unable to find sureties for his good behaviour, he removed to Rhode Island, where he speedily experienced similar treatment, with the addition of imprisonment. At Providence the humane Roger Williams gave him shelter for a time. At length, he sought to establish himself and his followers at Patuxet; but when the inhabitants of that place, in order to be relieved of his presence, petitioned to be brought under the protection of Massachusetts, he purchased, in conjunction with eleven others, a tract of land called Showamet and removed thither. Over this tract Plymouth speedily claimed jurisdiction. Two inferior chiefs, however, asserting their rightful ownership in the land, went to Boston and acknowledged themselves subjects of Massachusetts.

By virtue of the authority thus delegated, Gorton and his followers were required, under guaranty of safe conduct, to appear before the general court to answer the complaints against them. On their refusal to do so, they were arrested and carried to Boston, where they remained imprisoned. Being brought to trial, they were convicted of heresy and contempt, and sentenced to be imprisoned, to be put in irons, and kept at labour. At the same time they were admonished that if they attempted to escape, or sought by speech or writing to pro-

mulgate their heretical opinions, they would render themselves amenable to the penalty of death. To add to the cruelty of this sentence, their cattle were ordered to be seized and sold to defray the expenses of their arrest, trial, and imprisonment. After suffering during the winter the penalty which had been awarded against them, they were released and banished from the colony. Gorton returned to England, where he succeeded in obtaining from the commissioners for the plantations an order for the restoration of his lands in Narraganset Bay; but through the counter representations of the Massachusetts authorities, the claim was never made good.

For some years the proximity of the Dutch settlement at New Netherlands, and that of the French at Acadia and in Canada, had been creating an indefinite sense of uneasiness. Conscious of the necessity of uniting for purposes of mutual protection, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, under the style of the United Colonies of New England, subscribed to "a perpetual league, offensive and defensive." By this coyenant each colony bound itself, in case of war, to furnish its quota of men in proportion to the number of male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty; and agreed to certain articles by which the conduct of each plantation, in all cases of emergency, should be regulated. This,

the first English confederacy in America, continued in force for twenty-three years, and was only then dissolved in consequence of the colonial charters being annulled by James the Second.

Mr. Endicott was chosen governor in 1644. The enmity which had for some time existed between the Narragansets and Mohegans broke out this year into open war. Uncas, the sachem of the latter tribe, having already proved himself the fast friend of the English, Massachusetts garrisoned the country of those sachems who had acknowledged themselves subjects of the colony, while the colonial commissioners sought to put an end to the war by offering to mediate between the belligerents.

In the mean time, however, Miantinomo had fallen into the hands of Uncas, and, by the advice of the commissioners, had been put to death. Exasperated by the loss of their sachem, the Narragansets continued to prosecute the war notwithstanding the colonies had commanded them to desist. Unable to put an end to hostilities by quiet means, the colonies finally determined to protect their allies the Mohegans by a resort to force. A voluntary enlistment of three hundred men was called for, but proving a failure, a resort was had to impressment, the command of the levies thus vigorously raised being given to Major Gibbons.

Fully aware of their inability to withstand a

force of this character, especially when supported by the Mohegans, the Narragansets sent deputies to Boston with offers of submission, and finally were brought to agree to the terms of peace dictated by the colonial commissioners. During the three following years, Winthrop held office as governor.

In 1648, Massachusetts set the first example among the American provinces of an execution for witchcraft. The victim in this instance was Margaret Jones, who was gravely charged with having "a malignant touch." After she had suffered death, a portion of her evil reputation still clung to her husband. Having embarked for Barbadoes, the ship in which he sailed chancing to careen over in a somewhat sudden and unusual manner, the effect of this movement was superstitiously charged upon the poor man. He was accordingly seized and kept in strict confinement. It was subsequently asserted by credulous persons on board, that from the moment he was incarcerated, the ship righted herself and ceased to roll about any more.

The year 1649 became one of sorrowful remembrance, not only to many of the better class of colonists, but to all who could appreciate true piety and unselfish benevolence of heart. Early in March, Governor Winthrop died. For nineteen years, through sickness and privation, in the midst of dangers from without and civil dis-

sensions within, he had remained firm and steadfast to the best interests of the colony. Spending his wealth lavishly to advance its prosperity, he devoted his own personal efforts to maintain in their purity the religious tenets he had espoused, and regarded all labour as light that was conducive to the general good.

CHAPTER VIII.

Civil war in England—Neutrality of Massachusetts—Its charter endangered—Death of Charles I.—Parliament asserts its supremacy over the colonies—Massachusetts remonstrates—War declared between England and Holland—The colonies called upon to render assistance—Action of Massachusetts—Capture of Acadia by the English fleet—Executions for witchcraft—Oliver Cromwell—His proposition to transfer the Puritan commonwealth to Ireland—His second proposition—Their reasons for declining to emigrate—Persecution of the Quakers—Their origin—Fanaticism and spirit of proselytism—Perrot's journey to Rome—Mission to the Turkish Sultan—Arrival of the Quakers in Massachusetts—Their arrest, imprisonment, and banishment—New laws passed against the Quakers—The exiles return to invite persecution—Arrival of Mary Clarke—Her special mission—Fanatical conduct of the sect—Made amenable to death on returning from banishment—Execution of Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra—Arrival of Wenlock—His arrest and condemnation—Release of the imprisoned Quakers.

During the progress of the civil war in England, Massachusetts preserved a prudent neutrality. When the attempt was made by parliament in 1646 to assert its jurisdiction over

the colonies, the authorities of Massachusetts firmly protested against the innovation as an infringement of their charter. A spirited remonstrance being warmly supported by Sir Henry Vane and other influential friends, it was so far successful at the time as to induce parliament not to interfère with any privileges which the colonists had hitherto rightfully enjoyed.

After the execution of Charles the First, which took place in 1649, parliament again vaguely asserted its supremacy. It suggested the issue of new patents, giving to the Council of State the power to appoint governors over the American colonies, and proposed that courts should be held and warrants issued in its name. The people of Massachusetts at once took the alarm, and pleaded through their agent, Mr. Winslow, their right to live under laws of their own making, and to be ruled by authorities chosen by themselves. The unsettled condition of affairs in England prevented any action being taken upon a project so full of danger to the independence of the American provinces. In 1651, war having been declared between England and Holland, Massachusetts, in common with the other colonies, was called upon to take up arms against the people of New Netherlands. The general court declined entering upon active hostilities, considering it "safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword, but to be in a posture of

defence." Finally, however, they evinced a disposition to yield to the wishes of Cromwell, whose favour they enjoyed, and joined with the other New England provinces in organizing an expedition against Long Island, over one half of which the Dutch of Manhattan exercised jurisdiction. The command of the united forces was intrusted to Major Willard; but owing to his incapacity, the enterprise proved unsuccessful. On his return, Willard incurred the censure of the general court.

Peace being proclaimed in 1654, the colonial troops were disbanded; but the fleet which had been sent from England to co-operate in the reduction of New Netherlands, being prevented from doing so by the unexpected renewal of pacific relations, sailed north against the French of Acadia, and took forcible possession of that country, although no war existed at the time between France and England.

Another execution for witchcraft took place in 1655. This unfortunate victim of a credulity common to the period was a poor widow woman, originally occupying a respectable station in society. Her husband, Mr. Hubbins, had been at one time possessed of a good estate, and had held offices of trust and honour in the colony. Having suffered greatly by pecuniary losses, he died in poverty, leaving his widow to endure the sad change in her lot with such patience and

humility as she might. Unfortunately, the consolation to be derived from the exercise of these Christian virtues was rejected by the forlorn woman. She could not bear that lowly grade to which she was reduced without indulging in ceaseless complaints and splenetic outbursts against her better-conditioned neighbours. These annoyances became at length so great as probably to produce in the persons assailed a sense of fear as well as of aversion. Being accused of witchcraft, she was found guilty of the charge and executed.

The ascendency of Cromwell at this period tended greatly to enhance the security of the New England colonies. The people of Massachusetts were in an especial manner objects of his esteem. He had already proposed for them to remove from the sterile soil upon which they had settled, and offered them a fairer and more fertile home in Ireland, then newly subjected to his arms. This offer the colonists had gratefully declined, asking nothing but his countenance in their behalf with the English parliament, which was again meditating the assertion of its supremacy. Continuing still desirous of promoting their welfare, Cromwell, after the conquest of Jamaica in 1656, endeavoured to prevail upon the people of Massachusetts to emigrate to that fine island; but their attachment to the rugged land where they had endured so much poverty

and suffering, and possibly some fear of being curbed in the exercise of their present political and religious freedom, prevented them from accepting the liberal proposals of their powerful but not wholly disinterested friend.

Having forsaken the comforts of their English homes—having voluntarily torn themselves from the embraces of beloved friends and endeared kindred, in order that they might enjoy in peace that system of religious belief to which their judgment inclined; and having at length succeeded in founding, at their own expense, amid many cares and sorrows, a populous and not wholly unprosperous colony in the American wilderness, it is scarcely surprising that they should have regarded all other sectarians as schismatics and innovators, and endeavoured by stringent laws to rigidly repress them.

The persecution which a small congregation of Anabaptists had met with in 1651, and their subsequent banishment beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, only encouraged zealots of other denominations to brave a similar punishment. The most insubordinate of these were the Quakers, a sect that, taking its rise in England about the year 1644, soon became as remarkable for the deep and sincere piety which distinguished many of its members as for the wild and reckless enthusiasm by which a smaller portion of them were animated.

The doctrines of Quakerism, first promulgated at a time when the religious sentiment was struggling to release itself from the thraldom of past ages, soon found advocates and supporters, many of whom mistook the blind suggestions of their own unregulated thoughts for direct communications from the Holy Spirit. Among these, as might have been expected, were a number of enthusiastic visionaries, who believed themselves especially called upon to denounce all sects but their own, and to testify in unmeasured language against obnoxious religious observances. Inflamed with the desire to proselytize the world, one John Perrot undertook a journey to Rome to enlighten the pope, while others travelled to Constantinople to convert the Turkish sultan. The former was confined as a lunatic. Of the latter, all were placed under arrest, and one was bastinadoed.

In July, 1656, several Quakers arrived in Massachusetts from Barbadoes, two of whom were women. Fully aware of the contemptuous disregard for existing ordinances indulged in by the more zealous of the sect in England, the magistrates of Boston brought the law against heresy to bear upon the intruders, and ordered their immediate arrest. After their persons had been examined for those marks which were supposed at that period to indicate such as dealt in witchcraft, no satanic signs being discovered,

their trunks were rifled, and the books found therein ordered to be publicly burned. A brief imprisonment was imposed upon them, but they were finally released and banished the colony. Several others who arrived subsequently were sent back to England by the vessels in which they came. About the same time a law was passed to prevent their introduction into the colony, and imposing the penalty of stripes and coercive labour upon all Quakers that should infringe it. Undeterred by this enactment, but rather glorying in braving the penalty it threatened, some of those who had been banished returned to Massachusetts in 1657; and one woman, Mary Clarke, leaving her husband and a large family in London, came over charged, as she declared, with a special mission to rebuke the magistrates for their intolerance and oppression. These people, spreading themselves among the towns and villages, inveighed loudly against the doctrines of the Puritans, and treated the laws established by the colonial government with the most contemptuous disdain.

After repeated attempts had failed to put an end to their phrensied declamation, and the immodest actions by which they were sometimes accompanied, the authorities unhappily resorted to personal violence. Some of the women were whipped, and several of the men condemned to lose an ear. Persecution did but increase the

evil. Those who had been exiled the colony returned to it the first opportunity; and although more stringent laws were now enacted to restrain Quakers from intruding within the limits of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, numbers of them at once determined to force their way into the colony and to brave the utmost rigour of the law. When seized, they offered no resistance. Sentenced to be flogged, they yielded with entire satisfaction their backs to the executioner. Mulcted in pecuniary fines, they quietly declined to pay them; and when ordered to do labour in prison, they refused to work. To a resolution so firm and unyielding, they united a perseverance in seeking proselytes which often approached the verge of insanity, and sometimes overstepped it. Bold in their defiance of the enactments imposed to restrain them, they hurled upon those whom they characterized as oppressors the most vigorous epithets the language could boast. They denounced the religion of the Puritans as a worship of the carnal Christ, and prophesied the most fearful calamities would befall them unless they abandoned their long-cherished creed. They proclaimed everywhere the absolute necessity of spiritual light, as a guide to religious truth, and asserted that all who denied it were blind beasts and liars. "Thus will the Lord break you into pieces," exclaimed a Quaker, shivering two bottles into fragments in the face of a con-

gregation. Another, named Fauborg, attempted to imitate the sacrifice of Abraham, and was only restrained by the neighbours, who were roused to interfere by the cries of the child. The fanaticism of the women Quakers, pure-minded and modest as they are acknowledged to have been, was carried to the most shameless and disreputable lengths. These various acts and enormities finally aroused public indignation to such a pitch, that, at the close of the year 1658, a law was passed banishing the Quakers from the United Colonies of New England, and forbidding their return under pain of death. This sanguinary and unjustifiable enactment was carried by one vote only. Various staunch friends of the government strongly protested against it, not only as cruel, but as liable to invite the persecution it sought to avoid. The result soon proved how well-grounded was the fear. Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyer courted the danger to which they were exposed, and quietly awaited the operation of the law. In September, 1659, they were seized, and, after trial, condemned to be hanged. The sentence was carried into effect upon Robinson and Stephenson, but Mary Dyer was reprieved upon the scaffold, and again thrust from the colony. Resolute in seeking a martyr's death, she returned soon after, and was publicly executed on Boston Common.

Popular compassion now began to evince itself so strongly in favour of those Quakers who yet remained in prison, that the magistrates found it necessary to publish a vindication of their proceedings. The trial of William Leddra took place at this period. He also suffered death at the hands of the hangman, having refused to accept of freedom on the condition of leaving the colony for ever.

While Leddra was upon his trial, Wenlock Christisson, another exile, calmly entered the court, and rebuked the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. This bold infraction of the law cost him also his liberty. When put upon his trial, he demanded by what authoity the magistrates presumed to act in opposition to the laws of England, by which alone he claimed to be tried. The governor referred to the English laws against Jesuits, whose return from banishment involved the penalty of death. Christisson denied the relevancy of the application; but he was found guilty. "I deny all guilt," he exclaimed; "my conscience is clear toward God." Sentence of death was pronounced against him. "Consider what you gain," said he. "For the last man put to death, here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my stead."

Struck by the force of his argument, the magistrates hesitated to carry their sentence into effect. The voice of the people also inclining to mercy, Christisson and the whole of his imprisoned associates, to the number of twenty-seven, were soon after released from prison and sent out of the colony. From this period no Quakers suffered death on account of their religion, although they still occasionally underwent the penalty of whipping and imprisonment, for repeatedly returning from that banishment to which they were as constantly doomed.

CHAPTER IX.

Governors of Massachusetts—Restoration of Charles II.—Arrival of Whalley and Goffe—Their arrest ordered—Charges preferred against the colony—Project for a governor-general of the New England provinces—Action of the general court—Agents appointed to proceed to London—Response of the king—Change required in the Massachusetts government——Additional complaints—Appointment of royal commissioners—Their arrival at Boston—Embark for New York—Capture of that province from the Dutch—Return of the commissioners — Their arbitrary proceedings—Difficulties with the general court—Report to the king—Deputies ordered to be sent to London—Prosperity of Massachusetts—King Philip's war—Christian Indians—The Wampanoag and Narraganset tribes—Cause of the war—Massacre at Swanzey—Mount Hope taken—Narragansets constrained to remain neutral—Progress of the war—Brookfield attacked—Deerfield burned—Northfield abandoned—Attempt on Hatfield — Alarm in Massachusetts — Extraordinary levies—Slaughter of the Narragansets—Lancaster burned—Groton Chelmsford—Medfield attacked—Warwick and Providence devastated—Massacres in Plymouth colony—Activity of the colonists—Capture and execution of Canonicus—Pursuit of Philip—His death.

After the death of Winthrop in 1649, Dudley and Endicott became alternately governor and deputy-governor of Massachusetts until the death of the former in 1653. During twelve of the subsequent twenty years, Endicott was continued in the office of chief magistrate, and at his decease Bellingham was chosen governor at eight successive annual elections.

During the period of the civil wars in England, and the subsequent protectorate of Cromwell, Massachusetts gradually increased in wealth and population; but upon the death of Cromwell the prospects of the New England provinces were overclouded. Anticipating the restoration of Charles II. to the English throne, they prudently refrained from acknowledging the supremacy either of Richard Cromwell or of the Long Parliament.

By the same vessels which, in July, 1660, brought the first tidings of the restoration of the monarchy, came over Whalley and Goffe, two of the regicides, whose lives were endangered by the altered condition of affairs in England. They were well-received by Endicott, and treated by other prominent persons in the colony with great attention and respect.

The news of the re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty met with but dubious credence; and it was not until the information was authenticated by fresh arrivals during the month of the following December, that the general court agreed upon addresses to the king and parliament. Having embodied in their address to the king a petition for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties, the prompt response of Charles was so favourable, that, upon the receipt of his reply, a day of thanksgiving was specially set apart. But, in the midst of the general joy, an

order, which arrived at the same time, for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe, created great anxiety for the safety of the fugitives. In obedience to the royal mandate, the magistrates caused the proclamation against the regicide judges to be promptly published; and lent, unwillingly, such aid to the officers of the law as they were called upon to give. Various and repeated efforts were made to secure the persons of the fugitives; but there is little doubt that the latter were enabled to evade the search by timely information received secretly from persons occupying prominent official stations in the colony.

Charges having been almost immediately preferred against the colony, of intolerance against the Quakers, and of usurping powers not authorized by the charter, an answer to the complaints was demanded by the king. At the same time it was rumoured that the unrestricted commerce heretofore carried on by the New England provinces with Virginia and the West Indies was to be prohibited, and that the arbitrary intentions of the king were foreshadowed in the revival of the project for a governor-general in America.

Justly alarmed at these suspicious intimations, the general court, during the month of May, 1661, adopted and published a series of resolutions, defining the powers with which the authorities of Massachusetts were clothed by the

charter of the province, and expressing the determination of the government to defend the rights of the people even by force of arms if it should be found necessary. To comply, however, with the requisition of the king, they sent Simon Bradstreet and John Norton to London, to affirm the loyalty of the province, to petition for a continuation of its rights and privileges, and to defend it from unfavourable representations.

It was not without great reluctance that the colonial agents accepted an appointment which threatened to endanger their personal liberty; but their anticipations of detention in England proved groundless. Charles received them with a graciousness and favour altogether unexpected; and, finally, enabled them to return to Massachusetts, bearing a letter, in which he promised to confirm the charter of the provinces, and to continue to the people those rights and privileges to which they were entitled. There were, however, some requisitions in the letter which the people were inclined to receive with less favour. The general court was directed to administer the oath of allegiance to every person within the province; to pronounce all laws invalid which had been made during the interregnum; to select the officers of the colony for their wisdom and integrity, without regard to their religious tenets; and to extend the right of suffrage to all freeholders of unblemished character.

There can be no question that the changes thus required to be made in the policy of the Massachusetts government were both liberal and gracious; but the people, having adopted a form of polity which they believed to be best in accordance with their religious faith, were not disposed to admit any alterations which might afford a precedent for future interference. They therefore only so far complied with the requirements of the king as to conduct judicial proceedings in his name.

This sturdy adherence to the principles they had espoused was promptly seized by certain designing persons in England, who were eager for an opportunity of renewing their charges against the Massachusetts authorities. To their complaints Charles himself lent no unwilling ear; and while protesting his willingness to preserve the provincial charter, he determined to ascertain how far the people of Massachusetts had transcended its provisions.

It was speedily understood that commissioners would be appointed to supervise the colonial government, and that they would be supported by an English fleet intended for the reduction of New York. A commission was in fact issued soon after to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick—the latter a determined enemy to the Massachusetts colony. The safety of the charter was imme-

diately provided for; preparations for defence were made, and a day of solemn fast speedily appointed.

The commissioners reached Boston toward the close of July, 1664, and at once demanded that troops should be levied to assist in reducing the Dutch. Impatient at the delays to which they were subjected, they re-embarked on board the fleet, and set sail for New York. The bloodless reduction of the territory known as New Netherland to the authority of England, rendering the duties of the commissioners comparatively easy; they returned to Massachusetts in the spring of 1665. In the mean time, the authorities of the latter colony had prepared a strong remonstrance against the threatened infringement of their charter, and petitioned, at the same time, that the powers of the commissioners should be revoked.

But even the warmest friends of Massachusetts in England were indisposed to support the justice of a protest they could neither understand nor appreciate; nor did the subsequent high-handed measures of the commissioners themselves lead men to see that the authority under which they acted was wholly unconstitutional. Their arbitrary and overbearing conduct was well calculated to increase their unpopularity. The regular authorities refusing to assemble the freemen of the colony, the commissioners

assumed the sole responsibility of doing so, and issued the order for a convention under their own names. Holding themselves as vested with powers superior to those with which the people had clothed the colonial magistrates, they extended their protection to persons under prosecution; and recognising the right of appeal to themselves, in a suit already decided by the proper judge, they opened the case anew, and summoned both parties to appear before them. Against this encroachment upon their acknowledged privileges, the general court strongly protested; and, as a matter of conciliation, offered to hear the cause over again in the presence of the commissioners: but this proposition was rejected.

While the dispute was still unsettled, the commissioners visited New Hampshire and Maine. A hasty decision pronounced the claims of Mason and Gorges to those territories to be valid; and annulled, at the same time, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. After suppressing the old authorities, and appointing new, they returned to Boston. Exasperated by these summary measures, the general court demanded an interview with the commissioners. This, however, the latter indignantly refused, and having reported the conduct of Massachusetts to the king, with more vindictiveness than became their station, they were recalled in 1666; and, at the

same time, the general court was ordered to send deputies to England, to answer the charges preferred against the province. By a cautious and temporizing policy, and by presents of masts and provisions judiciously timed, the imminence of the danger was averted. But the ultimate design of the king was suspended, not abandoned.

The great plague and the fire of London occurred to prevent him from immediately carrying out his plans; and for several years subsequent to the recall of the commissioners, the New England provinces continued in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges without interruption.

Governor Bellingham, a man of great learning and integrity, was continually re-elected until 1670. During this period the province greatly increased in wealth and population. An extensive and profitable traffic in lumber and fish was carried on with Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies, the commercial restrictions which had been imposed in England being systematically and resolutely evaded.

From the period of the Pequod war until 1675, the colonies of New England had been enabled to preserve amicable relations with the neighbouring Indians, many of whom, by the unwearied exertions of Eliot and Mayhew, and other devoted missionaries, were induced to embrace the Christian religion. These converts, how-

ever, were mostly confined to the smaller Indian communities; the powerful tribes of the Narragansets and the Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, still retaining the belief of their fathers.

Of these two warlike nations, one, by the rapid spread of the English plantations, was shut in between Plymouth and Connecticut; and the other confined mainly to the narrow peninsulas formed by the northern and eastern branches of Narraganset Bay.

Being in a measure constrained, from time to time, to part with portions of their territory to the colonists, the limits of their ancient hunting-grounds became gradually circumscribed within bounds which admitted of being watched by the English. Thus forced back by the advancing tide of population, Philip of Pokanoket, chief of the Wampanoags, the son and successor of the friendly sachem Massasoit, began to grow restless under the various restraints to which his own movements, and those of his tribe, were subjected. Canonchet, the sachem of the Narragansets, a tribe at this period numbering a thousand warriors, was scarcely less uneasy. The Wampanoags themselves boasted seven hundred fighting men. Suspicion of hostile designs already rested on Philip, who had been compelled to surrender the firearms in his possession, and to enter upon stipulations, which failing to comply with, he was in consequence, subse-

quently mulcted by the Plymouth authorities in a heavy fine.

An Indian convert, who had resided for some time at Mount Hope in the service of Philip, on returning to Cambridge to resume his former office of teacher there, charged Philip with being engaged in planning an extensive massacre of the English. The haughty chieftain was at once sent for to answer the accusation, and although his replies were scarcely considered satisfactory, was permitted to return to his tribe. A short time afterward, the treacherous informer was waylaid and murdered by three of Philip's people, who themselves were subsequently seized, tried by a mixed jury, condemned, and executed.

Eager to revenge the death of their companions, a party of warriors, on the 24th of June, fell suddenly upon the frontier settlement at Swanzey, and slew some eight or nine English. Already some houses had been burned in the neighbourhood of Mount Hope, and their inhabitants driven off. Magnified by terror, the belief in an extensive conspiracy quickly spread. Plymouth, as the most exposed, quickly took measures for defence, and within four days from the attack on Swanzey, a party of horse from Massachusetts set out to form a junction with the Plymouth forces.

These troops succeeded in capturing, with but

little resistance, the Wampanoag villages at Mount Hope; but they were already partially abandoned. Crossing the bay, the Provincials next penetrated the Narraganset country, and constrained that powerful tribe to deliver up hostages for the maintenance of peace.

In the mean time Philip, driven from his paternal home, and forced into a war in opposition to his own wishes, sought refuge among the inland tribes, whom he speedily succeeded in winning over to his assistance. The hatchet was soon after uplifted all along the entire frontier of New England, and the usual horrors of Indian warfare speedily followed. Its desultory character only rendered it the more alarming. The feeble, outlying villages were the first to experience the vengeance of the exasperated savages.

On the second of August, Captain Hutchinson and sixteen men fell into an ambush and were killed. The same day Brookfield was attacked and devastated. The river Indians now joined in the war. Deerfield was burned; Northfield was abandoned. Captain Beers, with twenty of his men, while hastening to the relief of Northfield, fell victims to the vigilance of outlying savages. On the 18th of September, Captain Lathrop, with an entire company of eighty picked men, experienced a similar fate. Springfield was next partially burned; and an unsuccessful attempt was made, on the 19th of October, to

capture the town of Hatfield. These successes stimulated the Indians on the Merrimack to commence hostilities also. The alarmed settlers upon the Massachusetts frontiers were driven in toward Boston, and the whole colony was thrown into a fever of excitement. Imagination now lent its aid to swell the extasy of terror. Strange signs and configurations were seen in the heavens. An Indian bow, distinct in shape, was beheld by credulous persons in the sky. Spectral horsemen bestrode the clouds, and the rush of their invisible steeds was heard through the air. The moon was eclipsed, and displayed in the centre of its orb the figure of an Indian scalp. Fanaticism saw in the war, and the ominous portents by which it was said to be accompanied, a judgment upon their sins; and the general court, after deliberate consultation with the elders, recounted many little follies and vanities which had of late been fostered and encouraged, especially by the younger portion of the community.

The commissioners for the New England colonies met in September, and resolved to make common cause in carrying on the war. A thousand men was at once ordered to be raised for the general protection of the plantations, and an equal number was soon after directed to be levied for an expedition against the Narragansets, who, though not in arms themselves, were

charged with encouraging and sheltering the hostile tribes.

On the 18th of December these troops, led by Josiah Winslow, entered the Narraganset country. The following day, after wading with difficulty through a deep snow for fifteen miles, they came in sight of the numerous wigwams of the enemy, clustered upon a small island in the midst of a morass, and protected by a palisade of logs and a thick and almost impenetrable hedge. Through the only entrance into this enclosure, exposed to a perfect blaze of fire from the sheltered Indians within, the captains resolutely advanced at the head of their respective companies. Six of these gallant officers were shot dead in the fierce struggle which ensued. For two hours, with varying fortune, the fight was maintained; but at length the Indians gave way, the fort was carried by the assailants, and nearly six hundred wigwams were immediately in a blaze. The winter's store of provisions was consumed, and hundreds of the aged, the timid, and the weak perished in the flames. The survivors of this terrible massacre, driven shelterless into the forest, deprived of food, and in constant terror of pursuit, dragged out a miserable existence, until, weakened by famine and stricken by exposure, many of them died. Others, infuriated by their disasters, joined with roving bands of

Indians and revenged themselves by falling upon the frontier settlements.

On the 10th of February, 1676, Lancaster was burned, and forty of its inhabitants killed or carried away into captivity. Groton and Chelmsford were also subjected to repeated attacks. On the 21st, Medfield, a village within twenty miles of Boston, was vigorously assaulted and one-half of the houses laid in ashes. Warwick and Providence, towns in Rhode Island, were next wholly or partially destroyed. The whole of the Narraganset country was abandoned. The colony of Plymouth bled at every pore. At Pawtucket a company, commanded by Captain Pierce, was almost annihilated. Another, under Captain Wadsworth, experienced a similar fate. But the injuries inflicted by the savages were not equal to the endurance of the English. Armed parties scoured the forests in every direction. Deprived of their accustomed supplies of food, many of the Indians suffered all the pangs of starvation. On the Connecticut, an encampment, consisting of a large number of hostile Indians, was surprised on the 19th of May by a strong volunteer detachment under Turner and Holyoke, and almost completely annihilated. The Narraganset country was overrun, and Canonchet, the chief sachem, taken a prisoner. Glorying in the resistance of the Indians, he refused the offer of his life on con-

dition of procuring a peace. He received his sentence of death heroically. "I like it well," said he. "I shall die before I speak any thing unworthy of myself."

Philip himself, hunted from place to place and deserted by his allies, after vainly endeavouring to prevail upon the Mohawks to take part in the contest, desperately returned to Mount Hope with the shattered remnant of those who still clung to him. Being closely pressed by the renowned partisan, Captain Church, his wife and son fell into the hands of his pursuers, and he himself escaped with difficulty. A few days after he was again surprised in his hiding-place; and while his terrified followers were offering a feeble resistance, he was shot dead by an Indian fighting in the ranks of the English. His captive son was transported to Bermuda and sold as a slave. Thus ended King Philip's war, disastrous alike to the conquerors and the conquered. Thirteen villages had been destroyed, six hundred houses laid in ashes, and more than that number of English had perished by the hands of the infuriated savages. On the other hand, the losses sustained by the Indians were immense. The great tribes of the Wampanoags and the Narragansets had been nearly annihilated; and of those who had escaped, but very few ever ventured to return to their ancient hunting-grounds.

CHAPTER X.

Charter of Massachusetts threatened—Agents sent to England—Their return—The charter vacated—Dudley appointed president—Andros appointed governor of all the New England provinces—His exactions and tyrannical conduct—Revolution in England—Insurrection in Massachusetts—Deposition and imprisonment of Andros—Bradstreet chosen president—War between England and France—Activity of Frontenac—Cocheco devastated—Pemaquid attacked and taken—Schenectady burned—Settlement at Salmon Falls surprised—Capture of fort at Casco Bay—Phipps captures Port Royal—Expedition to Canada—Its ill success—Issue of paper money—New charter of Massachusetts—Phipps appointed governor—Salem witchcraft—Cotton Mather—Spread of the delusion—Its terrible effects throughout the colony—Execution of Mr. Burroughs—Flight of the Bradstreets—Accusation of Lady Phipps—Reaction—Conduct of Judge Sewell—Of Mr. Parrish.

In the mean while, during the progress of a war which laid nearly one-half of the English settlements in ruins, the privy council of Charles II. were meditating the recall of the Massachusetts charter. On the 10th of June, while the contest was still raging on the northern frontiers, Edward Randolph reached New England, bearing a letter to the Massachusetts authorities, commanding them to send over commissioners to answer charges preferred against the colony. These commands were reluctantly complied with, and William Stoughton and Peter

Bulkley were despatched with a memorial from the general court, having particular reference to the right of jurisdiction exercised by Massachusetts over Maine and New Hampshire.

The committee appointed in the early part of 1677 to examine the charters, having pronounced the title to the territory of Maine to be vested in the heirs of Gorges, Massachusetts sought to put an end to the dispute by purchasing the charter of that province from the proprietaries for twelve hundred and fifty pounds.

The agents from Massachusetts being entrusted with powers expressly limited, found but little favour from the English ministry. They returned to the province in 1679, other agents, clothed with fuller authority, being demanded by the king. But the fate of the charter had been predetermined. Firmly resolved not to surrender by a voluntary act those rights and privileges which had been formally granted the original founders of the province, the general court instructed their agents to that effect; and a *quo warranto* having been issued, they declined contending with the king in a court of law. Such being the case, the suit steadily progressed to a close without opposition, and on the 18th of June, 1684, the charter was adjudged to be vacated. This judgment being subsequently confirmed, a copy of it was despatched to the

colony, where it arrived on the second of July, 1685.

From 1673 to 1679, John Leverett had been annually elected governor of the colony. At his decease, he was succeeded by the aged Bradstreet, almost the only survivor of the earlier colonists. The latter was regularly chosen chief magistrate until the charter was annulled, when James II., who had succeeded to the English crown, commissioned Joseph Dudley, a son of the former governor of that name, as president, until a governor should be regularly appointed. Sixteen others were associated with Dudley, and the joint commission was also authorized to exercise authority over Maine, New Hampshire, and Narraganset.

This was, however, but a temporary arrangement. Toward the close of 1686, Dudley was superseded by Sir Edmund Andros, who was transferred from the chief magistracy of New York and appointed governor of all the New England provinces.

The supple and subservient character of Andros had already preceded him. His arbitrary conduct soon rendered him still more unpopular. Under the specious pretext that the forfeiture of the charter had invalidated all the titles to land in the colony, and that the fee was in the crown, he required a confirmation of all deeds under his own hand, for which he exacted

the most exorbitant charges. In this measure he was supported by Randolph, who had been appointed colonial secretary and judge of probate. By the consent of at least a portion of his council, he proceeded to levy taxes in an equally arbitrary manner, and subjected to fine and imprisonment various respectable citizens, who, disputing the legality of the measure, firmly refused payment. A respectful address to the king failing to put a stop to the rapacity of his governor, Increase Mather, one of the most popular clergymen in the province, was selected to proceed to England and endeavour to obtain some relief from the grievances under which the colonists laboured.

But events were maturing in England by which the gubernatorial career of Andros was brought to an unexpected close. In the spring of 1689, a rumour reached Boston that William Prince of Orange had successfully accomplished a bloodless revolution in the mother country, and that James II. had fled the kingdom and taken refuge in France. Without waiting for the tidings to be confirmed, the people of Massachusetts immediately assembled in arms, gained possession of the fort, and seizing Andros, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, placed them in strict confinement until they could be sent to England.

Until instructions should be received from

abroad, a council of safety, of which the venerable Bradstreet was appointed president, was organized to administer the government in the form in which it existed under the charter.

In a few weeks, the success of the Protestant revolution, and the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, was placed beyond a doubt. The Council of Massachusetts was officially recognised, and ordered to continue the government in the ancient manner until the king's further pleasure should be made known.

In the mean time, war had been declared between England and France. Count Frontenac, the governor of Canada, having been prevented from invading New York by the necessity of defending his own territory against an irruption of the Five Nations, encouraged his Indian allies to undertake a number of smaller enterprises along the exposed frontiers of New York and New England.

On the night of the 27th of June, 1689, the Penacook warriors, led by Castine, surprised Cocheco, partly destroyed the village, and killed or bore away into captivity fifty-two of the inhabitants.

The Penobscot Indians, influenced by a French priest, next invested the stockade fort at Pemaquid, on the Merrimack, and after a siege of two days, compelled the garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In mid winter, a

party of French and Indians from Montreal, after wading through the snows for three weeks, fell suddenly upon the village of Schenectady, burned many of the houses, and massacred sixty of the inhabitants. In the early spring of 1690, the brutal Hertelle, with a mixed party of French and Indians, surprised the village at Salmon Falls, killed nearly all the male inhabitants, and led off into captivity fifty-four persons, mostly women and children. Forming a junction with a third party of his countrymen, Hertelle next attacked the fort at Casco Bay, destroyed by stratagem a part of the garrison, and captured the remainder.

Impressed with the danger to which the eastern colonies were exposed, the government of Massachusetts fitted out at its own expense an expedition against Port Royal, in Acadia, the command of which was given to Sir William Phipps, an officer who, by the force of native energy alone, had raised himself from the humble condition of a farmer's boy to rank and station. The enterprise proved successful in every respect. Port Royal was captured, and possession taken of the whole territory. Leaving a part of his troops to garrison his conquest, Phipps returned in triumph to Boston.

He had scarcely reached that city before he was appointed to command the naval forces in an expedition which, at the instigation of Massa-

chusetts, New York and the New England colonies had consented to organize against Canada. The enterprise proved wholly unsuccessful. The land forces under Winthrop, taken principally from New York and Connecticut, and intended to march against Montreal—in the midst of complaints and bickerings among the men, and mutual recriminations between Winthrop and Milbourne, the commissary—proceeded as far as Lake George, when provisions became scarce, and the small-pox broke out among the troops. These disasters, joined to the insubordination which had crept into the army, speedily occasioned its disbandment.

The fleet under Phipps, consisting of thirty-two vessels, having on board two thousand men, had sailed in the mean while from Boston, with the intention of surprising Quebec. Nine weeks were spent in the cautious ascent of the St. Lawrence, during which time Winthrop's expedition had been broken up. Relieved from the defence of Montreal, Frontenac, apprized of the advance of Phipps, hastened to strengthen and reinforce Quebec. An attack under these circumstances not proving advisable, and the approach of winter preventing the operations of a siege, the provincial fleet returned home without effecting any thing. This want of success fell the more heavily upon Massachusetts, inasmuch as the great burden of the expense was borne by that

colony. The pressure of the debt thus created was partially relieved by the issue of bills of credit, this being the first introduction of paper-money into the American provinces.

Massachusetts continued to be governed by the aged Bradstreet and his council, until the year 1692, when a new charter was granted by the king, the provisions of which were scarcely so favourable as the people had been led to hope.

Under the new charter, the king reserved to himself the appointment of governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary, and a negative within the term of three years upon all laws passed in the colony. The elective franchise was extended to every inhabitant whose personal estate amounted to forty pounds sterling, and to every freeholder whose annual income exceeded forty shillings. By the style and title of "The Province of Massachusetts Bay," the new patent embraced within its jurisdiction the Plymouth colony, the province of Maine, and the territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia. At the instance of the agents in England, Sir William Phipps, always popular in the province, was commissioned as governor. William Stoughton, an excellent scholar, and a gentleman of good legislative abilities, received the appointment of lieutenant-governor.

It was at the beginning of this year, that many persons of piety and good understanding were again led to believe in the great prevalence

of witchcraft in the province. Prominent among the most credulous of these was Cotton Mather, son to the Reverend Increase Mather, for some time past the agent of Massachusetts in England, and himself a clergyman. Mather had already written a book upon the subject of witchcraft, published some three years before, in which he had expressly avowed himself a believer in the existence of wizards and witches, and in their ability to hold intercourse with evil spirits. Many others also entertained similar opinions, and this credulity had been fortified by the strange conduct of four Boston children, who, in 1688, by affecting to be afflicted in various ways, had procured the accusation and execution of an old Irish servant woman, against whom the oldest daughter of the family, a girl of thirteen, had imbibed a strong dislike. These children, probably imitating at first the example of their artful sister, and subsequently encouraged to persevere by the sympathy they excited, would bark like dogs, pur like cats, pretend to be lame, or halt, or blind, or dumb, and to have their limbs forced into strange and unnatural shapes. At other times they would complain of being pinched by invisible hands, or would cry out that they were pricked, or tortured by the same unseen agency.

The delusion was credited: and though it spread no further at that time, yet in February,

1692, the children of Mr. Parris, the minister at Salem village, now called Danvers, pretended to be seized in a manner similar to those whose extraordinary case Mather had recorded as witnessed by himself, four years previous in Boston. The alarm of witchcraft was again sounded abroad. The ministers fasted and prayed with the distressed father. The villagers of Salem also fasted and prayed; and the fear of demoniacal influences becoming general, a day of fasting and prayer was specially set apart to be kept by the whole colony. The belief in witchcraft being thus solemnly recognised and fostered, it was not long before the delusion spread across the whole breadth of the province. The number of victims so rapidly increased, that many of the colonists, perfectly panic-stricken, became the accusers of others, lest they should be brought under suspicion themselves. The execution at Salem village of Mr. Burroughs, a minister of a blameless life, was a terrible instance of the power which the delusion exercised over the strongest minds in the community. For fifteen months this strange belief held full possession of the popular faith. During this period, out of twenty-eight persons capitally convicted of witchcraft, nineteen had been hanged and one pressed to death. The audacity of their accusers increasing with their success, at length led them to rashly fulminate charges against persons of station and

consequence. The sons of the aged Bradstreet, and many other persons of equal rank and piety, had already been compelled to seek safety in flight. One hundred and fifty individuals, a portion of whom had previously occupied respectable stations in society, were in prison awaiting their trial, and probable condemnation, when accusations of witchcraft were preferred against Lady Phipps, and against some of the nearest relatives of Increase Mather, who had returned to Boston, in May, with the new governor.

From the moment these last charges were made, a doubt began to be entertained of the truth of those which had preceded them. A citizen of Boston boldly met a similar accusation by arresting his accusers, and suing them for defamation of character. The spell was dissolved. Those who had already learned to doubt, now had their doubts confirmed. Public opinion assumed a healthier character; and, at the ensuing trials of those already imprisoned, but three out of fifty were convicted of practising forbidden acts, and these the governor immediately reprieved.

The popular indignation now began to turn against the former witnesses, many of whom solemnly recanted their testimony, defending themselves on the plea of being constrained to perjure themselves in order to save their own lives.

A portion of the clergy, among whom was Mather, still persisted in asserting the truth of witchcraft; but this opinion did not prevent Sewell, one of the Salem judges, to publicly crave the prayers of the people for any errors he might have committed in the supposed discharge of his duty; while Mr. Parris, the clergyman from whose house at Salem village the delusion spread, finding that a solemn profession of repentance, publicly made, did not relieve him from the odium of the inhabitants, was finally compelled to resign his ministry, and seek a refuge elsewhere.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir William Phipps—Fort built at Pemaquid—Treaty with the eastern Indians—Dissatisfaction in Massachusetts—Difficulties with Phipps—Summoned to England to answer charges—His acquittal and death—Stoughton's administration—French and Indian hostilities—Descent on Durham—Recapture of Port Royal—Destruction of the fort at Pemaquid—Expedition of Church to the Bay of Fundy—Andover and Haverhill attacked—Peace of Ryswick—Arrival of Earl of Bellamont—His popular course—Dudley appointed governor—Disputes with the assembly—War between England France, and Spain—Settlements in Maine destroyed—Burning of Deerfield—Charges against Dudley—Unsuccessful expedition against Port Royal—Expedition organized against Canada—Its disastrous result—Treaty of Utrecht—Unpopularity of Dudley—His recall—Governor Shute—His quarrel with the general court—Returns to England—Administration of Dunmore—Governor Burnet—His difficulties and death—Arrival of Governor Belcher—War with Spain—Paper money agitation in Massachusetts—Removal of Belcher—Governor Shirley—War with France—Capture of Louisburg—Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

Notwithstanding the favour with which the elevation of Sir William Phipps to the chief magistracy was at first regarded by the people of Massachusetts, as an officer commissioned by the crown, he could not be expected to retain his popularity for any great length of time with colonists accustomed to elect their own rulers, and jealous of all interference. Upon his elevation to office, the hostile Indians were at first

disposed to court a peace with the New England provinces, but were eventually dissuaded from doing so by the intrigues of the French. Their sanguinary excesses on the Merrimack were, however, partially controlled by Phipps, who, at the head of a small force, marched to Pemaquid, and, building a fort at that important point, left a competent garrison for its defence.

The erection of this substantial military post so effectually overawed the eastern Indians, that during the following year they renounced their allegiance with the French, and made peace with the English. Still the people were not satisfied. The construction of the fort at Pemaquid had burdened the colony, already heavily in debt, with an additional weight of taxation; and the enemies of Phipps took advantage of the warmth of his temper to provoke him into altercations unbecoming his position. After quarrelling with the collector of the port, and inflicting personal chastisement upon the captain of a man-of-war, articles of impeachment were preferred against him, which he was summoned to England to answer in person. On the day of trial, the charges were summarily dismissed, and the account which Phipps gave of his administration having met with the approbation of the king, he was about to return to the colony, when he was seized with a fever, which ended fatally in the month of February, 1695. During the absence

of Phipps in England, the exercise of supreme authority had devolved upon Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, in whose hands the administration continued until the arrival of the Earl of Bellamont, as successor to Phipps, in 1698.

The Indian treaty at Pemaquid did not remain long unbroken. In 1694, the war broke out afresh. Instigated by the missionary Thury, a party of warriors, led by French officers, fell suddenly upon the settlement at Oyster River, now known as Durham, and killed or made prisoners of nearly one hundred inhabitants. Port Royal had already been recaptured by Villebon, and soon after the whole of Acadia returned to its ancient allegiance. On the 17th of August, 1696, the fort at Pemaquid was besieged by a mixed force of French and Indians, and the garrison compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The fort was laid in ruins, and the surrounding settlement devastated. Church retaliated by destroying Beau Bassin, a French settlement in the Bay of Fundy. He even sought to dislodge Villebon from St. John's, but the attempt was not successful.

Animated to renewed exertions by the successes of the French, their Indian allies spread themselves over the territory of Massachusetts. During the early part of 1697, they penetrated to within twenty-five miles of Boston, attacked the towns of Andover and Haverhill,

killed a part of the inhabitants, and carried many others into captivity. The treaty of Ryswick, proclaimed at Boston toward the close of the year, produced a temporary cessation of hostilities, while it restored to each party the conquests that had been respectively made.

Bellamont, who had also been commissioned to govern New York and New Hampshire, did not assume personally the administration in Massachusetts until 1699. His course was at once popular and conciliatory. He sought and maintained the friendship of the clergy by deferring to their religious opinions, and by observing great punctuality and decorum in his attendance at church and lectures. His affability was not without its reward. The liberality of the general court, with respect to his salary, was far greater than ever had been accorded to any preceding governor. Upon the death of Bellamont at New York in 1701, the ambitious and unpopular Joseph Dudley was appointed governor of the province. His personal application for the office having proved successful, he reached Boston in June, 1702, and soon found himself engaged in a quarrel with that sturdy party of popular men, some of whom had risen against the tyranny of Andros, and still defended, to the utmost of their ability, the rights and privileges of the people. Carrying out the royal instructions, Dudley demanded of the assembly that the

salaries of the governor and the crown officers should be permanently fixed, and not established by an annual grant as heretofore. But as the consequence of this would have been to render the governor and his subordinates independent of the legislature, the house of delegates declined compliance with the instructions, and was sustained in the adoption of this resolution by the action of the council.

In 1702, war having been again declared by England against France and Spain, preparations were actively made in Canada for a resumption of hostilities along the eastern frontiers. So perfect were the arrangements between the French and their Indian allies, that on the day of the 10th of August, 1703, a simultaneous attack was made by them upon all the English settlements in Maine lying between Casco and Wells. Most of the unfortunate inhabitants were either indiscriminately massacred or hurried off into an almost hopeless captivity.

In March, 1704, Hertelle, at the head of three hundred and fifty Canadians and Indians, traversed the deep snows bordering the Connecticut, and entering at midnight the village of Deerfield, applied the torch to the houses of the sleeping inhabitants. Awakened to their danger by the crackling of flames, and the shouts of bloodthirsty men, forty-seven of the inhabitants fell victims to the fury of their enemies, while

over one hundred others were taken prisoners to Canada. To revenge this barbarous onslaught, the veteran Church, the hero of King Philip's war, was sent with six hundred men against the French establishments on the Penobscot, an expedition which occasioned a great popular clamour against Dudley, who was unjustly accused of abstaining from an attack upon Port Royal, out of consideration for the illegal traffic carried on with that place with his mercantile friends. In 1705, a suspension of hostilities was proposed by the governor of Canada, but rejected by the general court, much against the desire of Dudley, who, by delaying the negotiation, succeeded for two years in preventing the resumption of warlike operations.

In 1707, hostilities recommenced. England had, in the mean time, promised to assist in the conquest of Canada; but the reinforcement not arriving, Massachusetts, assisted by Rhode Island and New Hampshire, undertook an expedition against Port Royal. One thousand troops were raised for this service and placed under the command of Colonel March; but the enterprise ended disastrously. The fort being found too strong to be carried without breaching artillery, the surrounding settlement was devastated, and the scattered hamlets along the coast reduced to ruin. The army being met at Casco Bay on its return home by commissioners from Massachu-

setts, was prevailed upon to make a second attempt upon Port Royal; but the effort only occasioned a considerable loss of life from disease among the attacking forces, without inflicting any considerable damage upon the enemy.

In 1708, the fierce Hertelle again left Canada, and entering the valley of the Merrimack, fell upon Haverhill in the gray of morning, plundered and set fire to the houses, slew some fifty of the inhabitants, and, although hotly pursued, succeeded in carrying off as many more prisoners into Canada.

To put an end to these daring incursions, the project of an invasion of Canada was revived. But the promised succours were delayed. And it was only by the solicitations of the governors of New York and the eastern provinces that Nicholson and Vetch, sent as agents to England, could obtain the assistance of two ships-of-war and five hundred marines. This aid, even with the addition of the provincial forces, which consisted of four New England regiments, not being sufficient to justify operations against Quebec and Montreal, the army, under the command of Nicholson and Vetch, embarked in transports and sailed to attack Port Royal. The capture of that important fortress proved, from the weakness and insubordination of its garrison, an easy achievement. The commander reluctantly agreed to a capitulation. Acadia was once more

in the hands of the English; but Vetch, who, with four hundred men, was left to garrison the new possession, soon found his post invested by the French and Indians.

At length, in 1711, such imposing preparations for the conquest of Canada were made by the English government, that the capture of that extensive French dependency was regarded as certain even before the sailing of the fleet. This fleet, comprising fifteen ships of war and forty transports, was commanded by Admiral Sir Hoveden Walker. The land forces, which accompanied the expedition, consisted of seven regiments of regulars and a battalion of marines. It was intended that this formidable armament should proceed to attack Quebec, while the provincial levies, already organized, marched to the assault of Montreal. As usual, the expedition shamefully failed. Eight of the vessels were wrecked in the St. Lawrence on the 22d of August, with a loss, by drowning, of nearly nine hundred men.

Glad of an excuse to abandon the expedition, Walker availed himself of the opportunity which this disaster afforded him, and ordering the vessels to put back, ingloriously returned home, rejoicing that by the loss he had already suffered he had been saved from hazarding the lives of the rest of his command. From this period the

war languished until 1713, when it was terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht.

Unpopular from the beginning, and regarded by many of the citizens as a degenerate son of their old and deeply venerated governor, Dudley could neither prevail upon the colonial delegates to carry out the king's instructions in respect to salaries, nor would they yield in the slightest degree to any measures which conflicted with their legislative independence. The debts incurred in the prosecution of the late protracted wars pressing so heavily upon the colony as to depreciate the value of the paper currency, it was finally concluded to seek monetary relief in the creation of a public or a private bank. To the scheme of private banking Dudley was opposed; and this opposition increasing the dislike of the wealthier class, a vigorous attempt was made to obtain the recall of the obnoxious governor, which was soon after crowned with success.

On the arrival of Colonel Shute as governor in October, 1716, the advocates of private banking again attempted to carry out their views. Shute declared himself in favour of the public bank, and consented to relieve the still existing scarcity of money by a large additional issue. This mode of mitigation being subsequently resorted to from time to time, in answer to the public clamour, the bills quickly depreciated,

while no measure of permanent relief could be devised by the general court.

It was not long before Shute found himself engaged in a controversy with the assembly, by his rejection of Elisha Cooke, a popular leader, as a member of his council. The quarrel thus commenced, gradually extended through several years, until it embraced the question of permanent salaries for the crown officers, which Shute attempted to exact in compliance with the royal instructions. The assembly, however, would consent to none other than annual grants; and, in 1721, as the dispute grew warmer, declined to vote any salaries at all until the governor should agree to offer no opposition to the bills the house was about to pass. Wearied out at last by continual opposition, Shute, in 1722, having obtained permission to visit England, secretly quitted the province, leaving the duties of his office to be fulfilled by Dummer, the lieutenant-governor, who continued for the next six years to administer the affairs of the colony. By judiciously yielding to the authority exercised by the general court, Dummer was enabled to carry on the government without much disagreement until he was superseded, in 1728, by the amiable and upright Burnet, previously governor of New York. Strictly adhering to the tenor of his instructions, Burnet soon became involved in disputes with the general court similar to

those which had imbittered the career of his predecessors. After a short time, these contentions unfortunately produced so great an effect upon his health, that, being seized with a fever, he died suddenly in September, 1729.

Jonathan Belcher, the agent of the general court in England, was appointed to succeed Burnet. He was authorized to compromise the long pending dispute in respect to salary by accepting a permanent annual grant of one thousand pounds. But, notwithstanding the favour with which he was at this period regarded, the house, declining to sacrifice its independence, steadfastly adhered to its system of annual appropriations.

Unable to enforce his instructions, Governor Belcher at length consented to accept such yearly sums as the provincial delegates were disposed to allow. But, as the projects of the English government aimed at a complete restoration of the king's prerogative by coercing the general court to strictly conform to the royal instructions, Belcher was finally relieved from his provincial dependence by receiving his salary directly from the royal exchequer.

War breaking out between England and Spain in 1739, Massachusetts, in common with the other American provinces, was called upon to furnish its quota of troops to reinforce the imposing armament which, under the command of

Cathcart, made, soon after, the disastrous attempt upon Carthagena. At the time this demand was made, the province was engaged in a bitter dispute with Belcher in relation to a re-issue of paper money.

Belcher not only resolutely opposed extending the time for the redemption of the old paper currency, or the creation anew of a similar currency, but distinctly denounced the various schemes for joint-stock banking which agitated the community. The projectors of these associations were, however, more powerful than the governor. They obtained a large majority in the house of delegates; and, while alarming Belcher with the fear of an insurrectionary movement to compel him to consent to their demands, were making secret applications in England for his removal.

In this object, greatly to the astonishment of Belcher, they succeeded, and, in 1741, William Shirley, a popular lawyer of English extraction, but a resident of Boston for eight years preceding his advancement, was appointed to assume the administration of the province. The sagacity of Shirley, and his thorough knowledge of the people over whom he had been commissioned to preside, enabled him for some years to conduct the affairs of his government much more smoothly than his predecessor.

The first intimation received by Massachusetts

of a new war between France and England, was the capture of Fort Canso, in Nova Scotia, by a party of Canadians.

Annapolis, formerly known as Port Royal, was besieged soon after, but received timely relief through the activity of Shirley. The reports of the English prisoners of war captured at Canso, and subsequently released on their parole, indicating the possibility of taking, by a vigorous assault, the strong fortress of Louisburg, the legislature of Massachusetts, by a majority of one vote, authorized the organization of an expedition for that purpose. Of the forces employed in this bold undertaking, three thousand two hundred men were raised by Massachusetts, five hundred by Connecticut, and three hundred from New Hampshire. This gallant little army, commanded by General Pepperell, and subsequently assisted by four ships of war under Commodore Warren, landed on the island of Cape Breton on the 30th of April. After two weeks' immense labour, the troops succeeded in dragging the siege-artillery through an intervening swamp. The subsequent operations against the fortress being conducted with equal vigour and resolution, on the 16th of June the garrison, consisting of about two thousand regulars and militia, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The conquest of this important post encouraged

the colonies to entertain the old project of an invasion of Canada; but after vast preparations were made, and the provincial levies had advanced as far as Albany, the British fleet failed to arrive, and the enterprise was abandoned. Disheartened by this failure, nothing further was attempted beyond the protection of the frontiers against the Indians, and the hasty assembling of troops at Boston, which, in 1746, was threatened by a French fleet consisting of forty ships of war, having on board three thousand veteran troops.

The danger from the latter soon passed away. Sickness had greatly weakened the effective force of the French; the Duke D'Anville, commanding the squadron, died suddenly. The second in command committed suicide. A storm scattering the vessels, some were wrecked, and such as outrode the fury of the tempest returned, one by one, to various ports in France. From this time, the war was languidly conducted on both sides, and was at length brought to a close, in 1748, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER XII.

Prosperous condition of Massachusetts—Duplicity of Shirley—He sails for England—The provincial laws—Their revision advised by the English ministry—Cape Breton restored to the French—Chagrin of Massachusetts.—The province indemnified for the expense of the Louisburg expedition—Returns to specie currency—Difficulties between England and France—Boundary dispute—Acadia—French encroachment—The Ohio Company—Advance of the French—Capture of unfinished works at the forks of the Ohio—George Washington—His skirmish with Jumonville—Retreats to Great Meadows—Capitulates and retires across the mountains—Convention at Albany—Union of colonies discussed—Plan of Franklin accepted—Its rejection by the colonies—Scheme of the Board of Trade—Action of Massachusetts—Arrival of Braddock—Plan of campaign—Expedition to Acadia—The Acadians—Their primitive manners—Their happy pastoral life—Success of the expedition—Deportation of the Acadians.

In spite of the harassing nature of the war, and the pecuniary difficulties under which the people of Massachusetts laboured, the condition of the province continued prosperous. This has been attributed to the vigorous character of Shirley's administration; but it was, doubtless, more owing to the indomitable spirit of the people themselves. Shirley unquestionably entertained views inimicable to provincial liberty; and only three months previous to the ratification of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he had

concerted with Clinton, the governor of New York, during a social interview at Albany, a scheme for securing the independence of the governors by either forcing the respective provincial assemblies to grant permanent salaries to the civic officers, or, failing in that, to so foment matters as to attain the same result by parliamentary interference. To further these views, and also to lay before the English ministry his opinions in relation to the ulterior designs of the French, Shirley sailed for England during the month of September, 1749, leaving Sir William Phipps, the lieutenant-governor, to administer the affairs of the province. Nearly four years elapsed before Shirley returned and reassumed the duties of his office. During this period, however, nothing of more importance occurred than the attempt made in 1752, by the English ministry, to procure a revision of the laws of the province. But as the ratification of the modified code was made dependent upon the approval of the king, the house of representatives, apprehensive of some secret encroachment upon their liberties, declined to unite with the council in recommending the measure, on the ground that, as the people were satisfied with the existing laws, it was unnecessary to make any alteration.

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, all territory captured during the progress of the war re-

turned to its original jurisdiction. Under this provision, the English became repossessed of Madras, and the French of Cape Breton. As the people of Massachusetts regarded the latter as their own especial acquisition, the order to surrender Louisburg was received with considerable dissatisfaction. The recognition of the claim of Massachusetts to be disbursed the expenses incurred in the expedition against Cape Breton tended, however, in a considerable degree, to reconcile the province to the surrender of the conquered territory, although some show of feeling was manifested among the people in respect to the manner in which the indemnity was proffered them; they claiming it as a right, while the English ministry would consider it only in the shape of a gift. After considerable discussion, the money, amounting to some eight hundred thousand dollars, was paid in specie to the proper authorities. Previous to its arrival, Hutchinson, the historian, at that time speaker of the house of delegates, supported by Shirley, who returned to his government in 1753, prevailed upon the general court to apply the indemnity to the redemption, at a small discount, of the depreciated paper money then in circulation. This measure, though strongly opposed at first by the populace, from a misconception of its tendency, was immediately carried into effect, and the province was scarcely in possession of a

sound hard-money currency, before all factious opposition ceased, and was succeeded by an almost universal feeling of satisfaction.

It was not long subsequent to Shirley's return to Boston before the impression became general that war with England and France would be resumed at an early day. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had tended, in no wise, to settle the original grounds of dispute. The boundaries between the French and English possessions were left undetermined, with the understanding that they should remain as they were previous to the war. Nothing could possibly have been a greater source of altercation than such an agreement. For twenty years previous to the war, the quarrel had constantly turned on territorial limits; and as the question still remained open, both parties considered themselves justified in making their jurisdiction as extensive as possible.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the whole of Acadia, according to its ancient limits, was ceded by France to Great Britain. A difficulty speedily arose as to how far the ancient limits of the territory actually extended. The French, contending that the Acadia yielded to England was confined to the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia, proceeded to take possession of the isthmus connecting it with the main land. Sheltering themselves among the Acadians in the

town of Chignecto, they compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the French sovereign. After applying, unsuccessfully, for assistance from Massachusetts, Cornwallis, the governor of Acadia, sent a detachment of four hundred men to drive off the French, and recover the town.

The first expedition returned without having accomplished its purpose; but in a second attempt, made soon after, the English were successful, though not without loss of life. The position of the town on the northern extremity of the Bay of Fundy, being one of importance, Fort Lawrence was immediately erected, in order to secure its possession for the future. The French, however, still maintained their posts at the mouth of the St. John's River; and from their alliance with the neighbouring Indian tribes, were enabled to keep possession of the disputed territory from Bay Vert to the Penobscot.

On the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania similar difficulties had arisen. In 1749, the Ohio Company, an association composed of London merchants, and Virginia speculators, obtained a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, on the east branch of the Ohio, or between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers. Anticipating their design, the Count de la Galissonière, governor-general of Canada, during the same

year, despatched an officer with three hundred men to trace out, and occupy the valley of the Ohio. In conformity with these instructions, De Bienville and his command proceeded to take formal possession of the territory in question, by burying plates of lead at the mouth of every remarkable stream, forbidding, at the same time, the Indians to continue their traffic with the English, and ordering all traders out of the country.

From this time until the spring of 1754, exploring parties were diligently thrown forward by both nations; but the activity of the French, guided by one mind, and devoted to the achievement of one object, was far greater than that of the English. Already the former had established military posts at Erie, Waterford, and Venango. Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, writing to England for advice, had been ordered to expel the intruders by force. The mission of George Washington to the commandant of the French posts on the Ohio proving unsuccessful, Virginia granted ten thousand pounds toward the defence of the frontiers, and a party of forty-one men hastened, early in 1754, to build a military station at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers. The military force of Virginia was increased to six hundred men; and of this regiment, Washington was commissioned as colonel. During the month of April, the working party at the forks of the

Ohio was suddenly attacked and driven off by a detachment of French under Contrecœur, who took possession of the unfinished works; and having enlarged, completed, and garrisoned it, named the fort thus acquired Fort Duquesne.

The next month, Washington, who had hastened to the defence of the frontier, encountered a detachment of French under Jumonville. In the skirmish that ensued the enemy were defeated with the loss of their leader. This success was, however, temporary. The enemy approaching in force soon after, Washington was compelled to fall back with his command to a rude stockade fort he had thrown up at Great Meadows, where, in a few days, he was invested by some fifteen hundred French and Indians. After a brief, but spirited defence, the fort was surrendered on terms, the garrison being permitted to recross the mountains, bearing with them their baggage and equipments. Although war had not been formally declared, a rupture between France and England becoming inevitable, the latter endeavoured to bring about that unity of action among the colonies which the legislative independence of the respective assemblies had hitherto prevented.

With this view, a convention of commissioners from the several colonial assemblies was held at Albany, during the month of June, 1754. After renewing the ancient covenant with their allies,

the Iroquois, the commissioners, turning to the consideration of provincial affairs, unanimously came to the conclusion that no plan of proper co-operation would be obtained but by a union of all the colonies. A committee, consisting of one delegate from each province represented, was accordingly appointed to draw up a scheme of union and consolidation. Of this committee Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, was appointed chairman. Another prominent member was Benjamin Franklin, early in life a poor printer's boy in Boston, but at this period one of the most influential men in Pennsylvania, whose assembly he represented in convention. The plan drawn up by Franklin was the one finally adopted. Its principal features were, the creation of a grand council, to be formed of members chosen by the respective provincial legislatures, which, with a governor-general, to be appointed by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and to raise money from all the colonies for the common defence.

But this scheme, though approved of by the convention, was rejected by the colonial assemblies, and regarded with distrust by the Board of Trade. The former were unwilling to concede any of their privileges, either to a central power chosen by themselves, or to one appointed by the crown. The latter, astonished at a provincial plan for a general government, complete in

itself, regarded it with disfavour, as restricting too much the royal prerogative. But the most powerful cause of its rejection by the Board of Trade, arose from their having framed a plan of their own; and, it is not improbable, that the call for a convention originated in the wish to impose their particular scheme upon the colonies. A few months after the close of the convention, their plan was submitted by Shirley to Franklin, whose opinion in regard to it was desired. The Board of Trade proposed the creation of a grand assembly, to be composed of colonial governors, and select members of their respective councils. This grand assembly was to be clothed with power to originate measures of defence, and to draw upon the British treasury for the expenses they involved, the latter being reimbursed, subsequently, by taxes imposed on the colonies by act of parliament.

Nothing, however, could be more distasteful to the colonies than appropriations involving taxation by parliament. To Massachusetts, the plan was peculiarly repulsive; and Bollan, the agent of the province in London, was particularly instructed to oppose any thing that should "have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in America, for any public uses or services of government."

While these plans were undergoing popular discussion, Shirley was diligently engaged in

placing the eastern frontier of the province in a state of defence. Treaties with the Indians were renewed, and Forts Halifax and Western on the Kennebec, were built.

Notwithstanding a desultory warfare had commenced along the frontier, negotiations were still pending between England and France. Shirley, also, as commander-in-chief of the colonial forces, was actively engaged in organizing the provincial levies. Massachusetts contributed largely and liberally to accomplish this desirable result. Reinforcements consisting of two regiments of regulars, under General Braddock, who had been appointed commander-in-chief in America, were also on their way to America. Braddock had no sooner set sail, than France despatched additional troops to Canada, under command of the veteran Dieskau.

Admiral Boscawen, with an English fleet, immediately sailed in pursuit. He arrived off New Foundland slightly in advance of the squadron he was ordered to intercept, but Dieskau was enabled to evade the English cruisers, and reached Canada in safety.

Braddock no sooner reached America, early in the spring of 1755, than he called a convention of colonial governors at Alexandria, in Virginia, for the purpose of consulting upon the plan of the campaign. Several expeditions, simultaneously conducted, were finally resolved

upon. One, under the direction of Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Acadia, was to capture the French military posts asserted to have been built within the boundaries of that province. Colonel William Johnson, of New York, was to conduct a mixed force of provincials and Indians against the French works at Crown Point, near the head of Lake Champlain. Shirley, second in command to Braddock, was to dislodge the French from Niagara; while Braddock, with his two regiments of regulars, and a few companies composed principally of Virginians under Colonel Washington, undertook, in person, the capture of Fort Duquesne.

In the three latter expeditions Massachusetts had a considerable share; seven thousand nine hundred men, or nearly one-fifth of the effective force of the province, being engaged in them. A considerable portion of these levies was destined to operate against the French posts in Acadia.

Sixteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, a small French colony had established itself upon the peninsula now known as Nova Scotia, but to which the early settlers had given the name of Acadia. With the lapse of time, the little colony gradually increased both in numbers and prosperity. Reproached for their adherence to the Catholic faith by the more intolerant of their puritan

neighbours, they were not unfrequently drawn into disputes wholly at variance with their quiet habits, and pastoral mode of life. At length, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia became a province of Great Britain. True to the language, manners, customs, and religion of their forefathers, the old inhabitants still regarded France with undiminished affection, even while yielding submissively to the jurisdiction of England. This love of their native country more particularly displayed itself in their refusal to bear arms against her; a feeling which, Armstrong, at that period lieutenant-governor, judiciously respected, and humanely required nothing more of the Acadians than to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. From their declining to participate in any contest between their countrymen and the English, this peaceful people received the name of French neutrals.

Forgotten, or neglected, by subsequent governors, for nearly forty years, the simple Acadians continued to lead a life of quiet happiness and increasing prosperity. Their unwearied industry had won from the ocean, meadows of the richest verdure. Over these noble pastures roamed numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of the finest cattle. Clothed in garments derived from flax grown in their own fields, or from wool of their own shearing, and with all their domestic wants supplied by their own labour,

this people had almost realized a condition of Arcadian simplicity. Clustering in little communities around their humble churches, happy in their neutrality, and in the enjoyment of the products of their industry, they lived, for the most part, free from contentions, pure in morals, and at all times affectionately disposed to assist one another.

But with the colonization of Nova Scotia by England, terminated the happy existence of this primitive people. Envied for their prosperity, despised for their simplicity, and suspected for their religion, they soon began to suffer from the intolerance of the new settlers, and from the injustice of those in authority.

France, desirous of restricting the province of Acadia to the peninsula, had erected the two Forts of Beau Sejour and Gaspareau, on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with the mainland. To the capture of these, in the latter part of May, 1755, and while Boscawen, off New Foundland, was watching for the appearance of the French fleet, three thousand men embarked from Boston, under the command of John Winslow. On their arrival at Chignecto, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, they were joined by three hundred regulars, under Colonel Monckton, on whom the command now devolved. Taken by surprise, the two forts fell into the hands of the English almost without resistance;

another detachment from the English forces, at the same time, took possession of the fort and village of St. John's, which had been burned and abandoned by the French. The conquest of all the region east of the St. Croix River having been thus easily accomplished, the Acadians were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain. To this demand they yielded readily, but could not pledge themselves to serve against France. A few of their young men having been captured fighting at Beau Sejour, Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor, affected to fear a general revolt in the province, notwithstanding the French commander, in surrendering the fort, had stipulated for the freedom of the young Acadians, on the ground that they had taken up arms only through compulsion. This plea had been admitted by the English, by agreeing to the stipulation. A large and complete force was in possession of every stronghold in the province, and the inhabitants had given up, unresistingly, their boats and fire-arms, still Lawrence pretended to be apprehensive of their pacific intentions. "They possess the best and largest tracts of land in the province," said he. "If they refuse the oath it would be much better they were away." Their expulsion, determined upon from the first, was now attempted to be legalized by the mockery of a judicial decision; a plan having been secretly

arranged to seize them by surprise, men, women, and children, and to distribute them through the several colonies.

Alarmed at the foreshadowing of some mysterious calamity, the Acadians offered to take the oath of allegiance in any form the authorities might desire; but this act of meek submission was now refused. Regarded by the prejudiced conquerors as "popish recusants," their deportation was resolved upon.

Unconscious of what was to follow, all the male inhabitants of Acadia above nine years of age, in obedience to a general proclamation, assembled on the 9th of September, at places previously indicated. At Grand Pré, one of these posts, four hundred and eight unarmed men met together. Having been marched into the church, the doors of which were immediately closed, Winslow, commanding the Massachusetts forces, notified them that their lands and tenements, and their personal property, were forfeited to the crown; and that they themselves were to be removed from his majesty's province of Nova Scotia. Their wives and families shared this sudden blow. The homes they had quitted in the morning they were never to see again. This was not all. On the day of embarkation they were driven on shipboard at the point of the bayonet, not in families, nor in a single vessel, but divided according to sex, and in different

ships, destined for different colonies. By this heartless arrangement, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers, sisters, and betrothed lovers, in spite of tears and agonizing entreaties, were torn from one another, many of them never again destined to meet on earth.

From the 10th of September to the middle of December, the work of embarkation went slowly on; the unfortunate Acadians being, in the mean while, crowded together on the coast, suffering from an insufficiency of clothing, and begging for bread.

Seven thousand of these unfortunate people were thus callously deprived of their homes; which, after their departure, were razed to the ground, to prevent them from affording a shelter to any of the exiles that should chance to return. Distributed among the colonies, more than a thousand were carried to Massachusetts, where they remained a public burden, until, heart-broken and hopeless, they finally languished away.

CHAPTER XIII.

Expedition against Crown Point—Fort Edward built—Approach of Dieskau—Defeat and death of Colonel Williams—Battle of Lake George—Shirley's advance to Oswego—Defeat of Braddock—Expedition to Niagara abandoned—Shirley appointed commander-in-chief—His military projects—His recall—Loudoun appointed commander-in-chief—Arbitrary laws passed by parliament—Capture of Oswego by Montcalm—The provincial forces disbanded—Campaign of 1757—Loudoun's unsuccessful expedition to Louisburg—Fort William Henry captured by Montcalm—Extraordinary panic in the provinces—Imbecile conduct of Loudoun—His quarrel with Massachusetts—Submission of the general court—Popularity of Governor Pownall—Campaign of 1758—Pitt's vigorous and popular measures—Abercrombie appointed commander-in-chief—Embarks on Lake George—Advance against Ticonderoga—Skirmish and death of Lord Howe—Defeat of Abercrombie.

WHILE Lawrence, Monckton, and Winslow were engaged in the reduction of Acadia, Johnson was collecting his troops at Albany, for the expedition against Crown Point. This enterprise was one of especial importance to Massachusetts, who had furnished a considerable number of the troops engaged in it, and the security of whose western frontier was thought to depend upon its success.

Leaving Major-General Lyman to construct Fort Edward, at the portage between the Hudson

and the head waters of the Sorel, Johnson, with three thousand four hundred men, crossed to the southern shore of Lake George, and there encamped.

In the mean time, the squadron in which Dieskau embarked from France, having escaped the English fleet off New Foundland, with the loss of two vessels, finally reached Quebec. Dieskau was immediately despatched to Crown Point; from whence, at the head of twelve hundred Indians and Canadians, he advanced to attack Fort Edward.

Having been apprized of Dieskau's approach, Johnson sent forward from his camp at Lake George, Colonel Ephraim Williams, a Massachusetts officer, with a thousand provincials and Indians to relieve the fort. Unconscious of the proximity of the enemy, Williams, while marching carelessly along, fell into an ambush within three miles of the camp he had so lately quitted. After a brief but desperate engagement, the detachment was compelled to retreat toward Lake George, closely followed by the victorious Dieskau. Among the killed was Williams, who in anticipation of such an issue, had made his will while passing through Albany, by which he bequeathed a sum of money to found the college at Williamstown, Massachusetts, which still bears his name.

Warned by the sound of approaching mus-

ketry, the troops at the camp hastily drew up from the lake shore two or three field pieces, and threw across their front a slight breastwork of felled timber. The design of Dieskau had been to follow close upon the fugitives, rush suddenly upon the camp, and by combining his forces upon one point, to break the line of defence. But the Indians and Canadians, habituated to a different kind of warfare, turned off into a thicket of trees upon a rising ground within gunshot of the English lines, from whence they opened their customary irregular fire. Notwithstanding this defection, Dieskau boldly advanced with his regulars only, and made a gallant attempt to force the centre of the lines; but being received by a tremendous discharge of musketry, and by the fire of the field-pieces, he was compelled to fall back. For five hours the action was obstinately contested on both sides; but the French regulars, not being sustained by their allies, began at length to show signs of faltering. No sooner were these indications discovered, than the Americans broke through their slight breastworks and drove the enemy from their cover.

The loss of the provincials in this well-fought battle, amounted, in killed and wounded, to three hundred men. Johnson being slightly injured early in the action, the chief command devolved upon General Lyman. The brave Dieskau, though wounded in three places, still struggled

to retrieve the fortune of the day. One by one his gallant regulars were struck down, yet he still maintained the fight. Growing faint from loss of blood, he seated himself on the stump of a tree, heedless of the balls that whistled around him. When his troops were routed, he ordered his attendants to place his military dress beside him, and dismissed them. In this position he was discovered by one of the pursuers, a French renegade, who fired at and mortally wounded him.

In the mean time, Shirley, with his own and Pepperell's regiment, lately enlisted in New England, marched, in June, from Albany to Oswego, from whence he proposed to embark for Niagara, at that time an insignificant military station, garrisoned by about thirty French regulars. After capturing the post, he was to remain there until joined by General Braddock, then on his way to reduce Fort Duquesne. But while Shirley was engaged in constructing boats for his conveyance up the lake, news arrived of the defeat and death of Braddock. That brave, but rash and inconsiderate commander, disdaining the advice of Washington and other provincial officers, had fallen into an ambush, by which his regulars, after being terribly cut up by the fire of an unseen enemy, were compelled to retreat in disorder. Braddock himself, mortally wounded, was carried in the arms of his men to

the vicinity of Fort Necessity, where he died four days after the battle.

These sad tidings disheartened the troops under Shirley, who were already broken down by sickness and the difficulties of the route. Delayed by severe storms, and straightened by a scarcity of provisions, Shirley, leaving behind, in the fort he had constructed at Oswego, a garrison of seven hundred men, finally concluded to abandon the expedition, and return to Albany. At this place he was met by a commission creating him "commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in the American colonies."

Knowing little of the art of war, yet possessing great ambition and indefatigable industry, Shirley immediately began to project plans for future victories. In December, during a congress of governors at New York, he concocted an imposing campaign for the following year. One of the objects at which he aimed was to drive the French from the region of the lakes. Returning to Boston, he requested the assembly to co-operate with money and troops. Dissatisfied with some of the results of the last campaign, they hesitated to involve the province in any further expense. An increase of debt would ruin them, they said, and "they hoped his majesty would graciously afford a sufficient force" to oppose their powerful enemy. Being

still pressed, they pleaded their inability to borrow the sum required, on account of the lowness of their credit. To obviate this objetcion, Shirley offered to lend them thirty thousand pounds out of the moneys remitted for the support of the king's troops, provided they would agree to repay the loan from an expected parliamentary grant to the colonies. To these conditions the assembly finally consented, and resolved to raise three thousand troops. But the grant, which arrived soon after, was scarcely sufficient to reimburse the amount of the loan.

In June, 1756, and in the midst of his preparations for the approaching campaign, Shirley was recalled to England, for the purpose "of being consulted upon measures for carrying out the war." The Earl of Loudoun, to whom the governorship of Virginia was also given, was appointed to succeed him in the command of the army.

With the design of restricting the independence of the colonial assemblies, and subordinating them to a military rule, acts of parliament had been passed for quartering the troops in private houses, and degrading the provincial officers to a position below that of those commissioned by the crown. The promulgation of these arbitrary laws roused a feeling of intense indignation throughout the colonies; while the arrogant manner in which they were sought to

be enforced, tended greatly to weaken the affection of the Americans for the mother country.

Notwithstanding the flattering manner in which he had been superseded in his military command, Shirley was disappointed and mortified. The loss of his government of Massachusetts, which devolved upon Lieutenant-governor Phipps until a successor was appointed, chagrined him still more. To add to his anxiety, just before his departure to England, the disastrous intelligence arrived that the Marquis of Montcalm, who had succeeded Dieskau in command of the French forces, had suddenly appeared before Oswego and captured its augmented garrison of fifteen hundred men, together with its stores and munitions of war, and the shipping in the harbour.

When this bold achievement took place, the main body of the forces under Loudoun, after remaining for more than a month inactive at Albany, was on the march to Ticonderoga. General Webb with the advance, in a futile effort to relieve Oswego, had reached the Oneida portage. Loudoun himself had been at Albany for two weeks. The destruction of Oswego caused Webb to fall back precipitately. The main army was recalled by Loudoun; offensive operations were abandoned; and, after reinforcing Forts Edward and William, the provincials were

dismissed, and the regulars ordered into winter quarters.

Such was the disastrous close of the campaign of 1756. To assist in the campaign of 1757, a congress of governors, held at Boston, in January, agreed to raise four thousand men, whom Loudoun, greatly to the relief of the provinces, offered to arm, equip, and victual. The principal part of the troops thus brought into action was posted at Forts William Henry and Edward. With the regulars thus relieved, and a British squadron under Admiral Holland, Loudoun undertook the reduction of Louisburg. While he was wasting his time in drilling his troops and planting cabbages at Halifax, the arrival of a French fleet rendered the success of an attack doubtful, and he finally concluded to return to New York. The tidings which met him on his way were of the most momentous character.

Thomas Pownall, appointed to succeed Shirley in the government of Massachusetts, reached the province in August. Owing to the decease of Phipps, the administration for four months previous had been in the hands of the council. Scarcely had Pownall entered upon the duties of his office, before an express arrived from Fort Edward with the alarming news of a French invasion. Notwithstanding some doubts as to the constitutionality of the measure, Pownall imme-

diately issued orders for the militia to be in readiness to march at a minute's notice to the relief of the forts on Lake George. By a further stretch of his authority, he appointed Sir William Pepperell, who had been knighted for the conquest of Port Royal, to the command of the Massachusetts forces, with the new title of lieutenant-general.

Intelligence of the fall of Fort William Henry reached Boston soon after. Ascending Lake George with a force of some five thousand regulars, Canadians and Indians, the energetic Montcalm, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the garrison, had compelled Monroe, the English commander, to capitulate on terms. The conditions of surrender were, that the garrison should be allowed to march out with the honours of war, and that they should be conducted to Fort Edward, some twelve miles distant, under the protection of a French escort sufficiently strong to secure them from the fury of the savages. These terms Montcalm honourably attempted to fulfil, but no effort on the part of himself or his officers could restrain the ferocity of his Indian allies. Excited by liquor, they sprang upon the English captives, and though Montcalm rushed among the uplifted tomahawks and entreated the savages to kill him rather than his English prisoners; and although his officers received wounds in defence of those

they attempted to succor, some thirty of the garrison were slain in this barbarous onslaught, while a number of others were hurried off into captivity.

In the mean while, General Webb lay at Fort Edward with a force of six thousand men. Although repeatedly solicited by Sir William Johnson, the conqueror of Dieskau, to send reinforcements to Fort William Henry, he timidly vacillated until the capitulation of the garrison rendered assistance no longer of any avail. Fearful of his own safety, Webb even hesitated whether to abandon his post or remain.

The alarm which this incursion created throughout the neighbouring provinces seems almost incredible. Christie, who commanded at Albany, wrote to the governor of Massachusetts in an agony of terror. "For God's sake," said he, "exert yourself to save a province; New York itself must fall; save a country; prevent the downfall of the British government upon this continent."

The danger being thus magnified, Pownall, sharing in their fears, ordered the inhabitants west of the Connecticut River to destroy their wheel carriages, and drive in their cattle. He also despatched several regiments of militia to reinforce the garrison at Fort Edward; but after reaching the province of New York, they were met by a messenger from the imbecile

Webb, with the information that their services were no longer necessary. Satisfied with the terror he had inspired, Montcalm was already on his way back to Canada.

During the prevalence of this panic, the arrogant and inefficient Loudoun reached New York. Unknowing what to do, he hurried from one place to another, and wasted the remainder of the season in preparations ending in nothing. He even, at one time, proposed to encamp on Long Island, for the defence of the continent.

But while he was thus subjecting himself to the contemptuous criticism of provincial writers, and to the scarcely suppressed disgust of his subordinate officers, he was attempting to control the colonial assemblies, by threatening to exert against them the extraordinary powers with which he had been vested by the English government.

The Massachusetts general court had provided barracks at the castle, with fire, lights, and barrack utensils, for such of the British troops as might be stationed at Boston. Certain recruiting officers from Nova Scotia, finding the distance inconvenient, requested the justices of peace to quarter and billet them in the town, as provided for by the British Mutiny Act. The magistrates refused, denying that act to be in force in the colonies. Loudoun violently espoused the cause of his officers and threatened, if necessary, to

send eight regiments to Boston, to enforce the law, unless the demand was complied with within forty-eight hours. To avoid this extremity, the general court, yielding to the solicitation of Pownall, passed a law of their own, embracing some of the principal provisions of the Mutiny Act, which they still persisted did not in its terms extend to the colonies.

Pownall's course in this affair, leaning, as it did, to the side of the colonies, together with the general frankness of his manners, tended to make him very popular. His administration had entirely changed the politics of Massachusetts. Hutchinson was presently appointed lieutenant-governor; but the most of those who had supported Shirley, and encouraged the English ministry to rule the province by means of the king's prerogative, had gone into opposition. Otis, a liberal, was promised a seat on the supreme bench; while his son, a young lawyer of brilliant talents, and subsequently so well known as the most ardent defender of the cause of popular liberty, was appointed advocate of the Admiralty.

William Pitt was now at the head of the English ministry. Attributing the success of the French on the colonial frontiers to the unskilfulness of the British commanders, in connection with the desultory efforts of the colonies, he rejected the policy of his predecessors, and

planned the conquest of Canada by aiding the patriotism of the provinces with the resources of the government. Striking effectually at one fruitful source of dissatisfaction, he obtained, in December, 1757, the king's order that every provincial officer of no higher rank than colonel should have equal command with the British. For the campaign of 1758 he called upon the governors for a levy of twenty thousand men, to be furnished with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions at the charge of the crown. The expense of levying, paying, and clothing the men was required to be met by the colonies; but even this sum he promised should be reimbursed by parliament.

Loudoun, at this time engaged in a quarrel with the general court, was recalled, Abercrombie having been commissioned to succeed him as commander-in-chief. Pitt's requisition was responded to with alacrity. Massachusetts voted to raise seven thousand men, to which were added some three thousand from the northern province.

On the 5th of July, while Wolfe and Boscawen were besieging Louisburg, and General Forbes was slowly preparing to march against Fort Duquesne, nine thousand of the provincials, having formed a junction with seven thousand regulars, Abercrombie embarked on the placid waters of Lake George, and with banners

waving in the wind, and to the sound of spirit-stirring music, this vast flotilla sailed down the lake to attack Ticonderoga. At nine o'clock the next morning the troops disembarked in a sheltered cove on the west side of the lake, and soon after took up their line of march through a dense wood, covering grounds uneven and rough. Over this rugged and intricate route, seven thousand regulars and provincials, led by inexperienced guides, marched in a disorderly manner toward the fort. In the midst of this confusion, the right centre, under Lord Howe, second in command to Abercrombie, and an officer on whose skill the confidence of the army mainly reposed, suddenly encountered a detachment of the enemy, not exceeding three hundred strong. After a sharp skirmish the French were routed; a large number being killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners. But this trifling victory was dearly bought. Lord Howe, foremost in the fight, had been the first to fall. Sincerely lamented by his fellow-soldiers, his death was not less mourned by the colonies. Massachusetts testified her respect for his memory, by voting him a monument in Westminster Abbey.

After passing the night in the forest, Abercrombie ordered a return to the landing-place. A new route had been opened by the energy of Bradstreet, an active provincial officer, who,

with a strong detachment, had rebuilt the bridges which spanned the curving stream forming the outlet to Lake George, and had taken possession of a sawmill about one mile and a half distant from the works at Ticonderoga.

After reconnoitering the position of Montcalm, Clerk, the chief engineer of Abercrombie, returned early on the morning of the eighth of July, and reported their lines practicable. Abercrombie, without halting for his artillery to come up, at once determined to advance, and carry the breastworks by storm.

Montcalm, in the mean time, had not been idle. When the approach of the English was first reported, he called in all his outposts, and with the troops thus concentrated, amounting in all to about thirty-five hundred men, he endeavoured assiduously to fortify his position as strongly as the limited time would permit. Labouring in common with his officers and men, he succeeded, by dint of extraordinary energy, in entrenching his camp in front of the fort, and by the morning of the eighth had nearly completed a formidable line of defence. His principal protection consisted in a breastwork of logs, some nine feet in height, the ground before which was encumbered by trees felled with their branches pointing outward, and by stumps and rubbish of all sorts, the whole being interwoven so thick as to afford an excellent barrier against all assail-

ants. Rejecting the advantage afforded him by Mount Defiance, which being in his possession, and commanding the lines of the French, would, by the use of a few pieces of artillery, have rendered them speedily untenable, and equally ignorant that the fortifications on his left were unfinished, Abercrombie made his disposition to storm the formidable defence in front.

The British regulars, formed in three columns in rear of the provincials, were accordingly ordered to advance and carry the breastworks. The troops of Montcalm, obedient to the command of their sagacious leader, remained silent, without firing a single gun, until the storming party was entangled among the many obstacles by which their progress was impeded. At length, as they struggled toward the trenches, the word was given, and an incessant and deadly fire was immediately opened upon the assailants, which swept off officers and men by hundreds. For three hours the English regulars contended with rash but heroic courage against impediments of the most formidable character; but at length, being thrown into disorder, they commenced firing upon an advancing party of their own. The confusion thus created, speedily increased to a panic; and after losing, in killed and wounded, over two thousand of their number, the attack was abandoned. Utterly overwhelmed

by his shameful failure, Abercrombie hurried his troops to the landing-place, the same evening, with such precipitation that it required the exercise of great activity and determination, on the part of Bradstreet, to prevent them from rushing in confusion into the boats. Early the next morning, the whole army re-embarked, and returned up the lake, leaving provisions, entrenching tools, and other valuable stores in the hands of the enemy.

CHAPTER XIV.

Surprise of Fort Frontenac by Bradstreet—Capture of Louisburg—Washington takes possession of Fort Duquesne—Campaign of 1759—Exertions of Pitt—Response of Massachusetts—Fort Niagara invested by Prideaux—His death—Defeat of the French and capture of Fort Niagara by Sir William Johnson—Desertion of Ticonderoga—Of Crown Point—Quebec invested by Wolfe—Battle of the Plains of Abraham—Wolfe and Montcalm mortally wounded—Surrender of Quebec—Movements of Amherst—Governor Bernard—His speech to the Massachusetts legislature—Responses of the council and the house of representatives—Illegal conduct of the revenue officers—Writs of assistance—Hutchinson appointed chief justice—James Otis—Opposition to the writs of assistance—Argument on behalf of their legality—The case argued—Speech of Oxenbridge Thatcher—Of James Otis the younger—Its effect upon the people—Unconstitutional act of Bernard—Its denunciation by Otis—Public avowal of his principles.

Notwithstanding the mortification which attended the defeat before Ticonderoga, the suc-

cess of the other expeditions relieved Pitt from the charge of rashness, and amply justified the bold and vigorous measures he had so strenuously advocated.

The army of Abercrombie returned gloomy and dispirited to Fort William Henry. At this place the energetic Bradstreet projected the surprise of Fort Frontenac, on the northern shore of Lake Ontario. Having, at length, received a reluctant permission to make the attempt, he placed himself at the head of three thousand men, mostly provincials, seven hundred of whom were from Massachusetts, and, by marching with great celerity, suddenly appeared before the astonished garrison, on the 26th day of August. The next day the fort was surrendered. Nine armed vessels, and a large quantity of valuable stores, fell into the hands of the victors. After ravaging the fortress, and destroying seven of the vessels, together with such stores as could not be brought off, Bradstreet returned to Albany, having by this brilliant exploit gained the command of Lake Ontario, and facilitated the reduction of Fort Duquesne.

During the progress of the disastrous expedition against Ticonderoga, General Amherst, in conjunction with the fleet under Boscawen, was engaged in the siege of Louisburg. The French ships of war in the harbour having been destroyed or taken, the garrison, to the

number of five thousand men, capitulated on the 27th of July. By the capture of this strong fortress, Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island, and the whole of the French territory on our eastern coast passed into the hands of Great Britain.

In the west, General Forbes was equally fortunate, though his success was attributable less to his own energy as a commander, than to the destruction of Fort Frontenac by Bradstreet. By that bold achievement, the garrison at Fort Duquesne, deprived of their customary supplies, and deserted, in consequence, by most of the Indians on whose support they relied, set fire to the works on the approach of the English, and hastily retreated down the river. Washington, with a detachment of provincials, forming the advance guard to the main army, took possession of the fort on the 25th of November, while its timbers were still burning.

The results obtained during the campaign of 1758, justified the opinion that an equally vigorous prosecution of the war during the following year would succeed in wresting Canada from the dominion of France. The colonies, eager to improve the advantages already obtained, readily responded to the call of Pitt for additional levies. Massachusetts, though greatly weakened by previous efforts, called into service seven thousand men. Of these, twenty-five

hundred were stationed in garrison at Louisburg. Several hundred joined the expedition of Wolfe against Quebec, while the remainder marched to reinforce Amherst, who, having been appointed commander-in-chief, was about to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

In the midst of preparations for these important enterprises, General Prideaux marched against the French fort at Niagara. On the sixth of July he invested it in form. Being killed shortly after, by the bursting of a cohorn, the command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. On the 24th of July, 1759, Johnson defeated a French detachment, twelve hundred strong, which had hastened to the relief of the garrison. The next day the fort was surrendered. The possession of Niagara and Duquesne led to the abandonment, by the French, of the western posts of Erie, Le Bœuf, and Venango.

Three days before the capture of Fort Niagara, the flotilla of Amherst, having on board eleven thousand regulars and provincials, descended Lake George, and on the 22d of July the troops were disembarked on the shore of the outlet opposite to where Abercrombie had landed the season before. The French being defeated, the same evening, Bourlamarque, the commandant, set fire to the fort at Ticonderoga, and retreated to Crown Point. Two weeks afterward he abandoned Crown Point also, and re-

tired to Isle-aux-Noix. Taking possession of the deserted works, Amherst employed his troops during the remainder of the campaign in strengthening the fortifications, and preparing boats for a descent on Montreal.

Leaving Louisburg as early as the season would permit, Wolfe embarked eight thousand troops on board a fleet of forty-four sail, commanded by Admiral Saunders, and on the 25th of June succeeded in landing the army on the Isle of Orleans, a short distance below Quebec.

For nearly three months the strength of the defences, and the vigilance of Montcalm, baffled all the efforts of the young English commander. At length, on the 13th of September, Wolfe finally succeeded in secretly scaling the Heights of Abraham, and drew up five thousand of his troops in battle array upon the plains before the city. Montcalm immediately advanced and opened an attack. After an obstinate and well-contested battle, the French gave way. Wolfe, twice wounded, expired in the moment of victory. The brave Montcalm, also mortally wounded while rallying the fugitives near St. John's gate, did not survive to witness the surrender of the city he had defended so ably and and so long. With the fall of Quebec terminated, in effect, the French power in North America.

The English troops being in possession of all

the military posts in Canada, with the exception of Montreal, Amherst proceeded to reduce the latter. On the 11th of October, he embarked his army in batteaux; but while descending Lake Champlain he was compelled by adverse winds and foul weather to retrace his course, and defer the contemplated attack until the following spring. On his return to Crown Point, the Massachusetts levies, in common with the other provincials, were disbanded and sent home. The regulars went into winter quarters.

In February, 1760, Francis Bernard was advanced from the government of New Jersey to supersede Pownall in that of Massachusetts. Bernard did not, however, assume the duties of his new office until late in the summer; and, in the mean time, the administration devolved upon Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Montreal capitulating to the English forces in the early part of this year, the conquest of Canada was completed.

The independent spirit by which the Massachusetts people were animated, evinced itself almost immediately after the arrival of Bernard in the province. During the month of September, while congratulating the legislature on the reduction of Montreal, he took occasion to remind them of "the blessings they derived from their *subjection* to Great Britain." The council, in reply, coldly acknowledged a "beneficial re-

lation" to the mother country; while the house of delegates retorted with sturdy significance that "the whole world must be sensible of the blessings derived to Great Britain from the loyalty of the colonies in general, and from the efforts of this province in particular, which, for more than a century past, has been wading in blood, and laden with the expenses of repelling the common enemy, without which efforts Great Britain, at this day, might have had no colonies to defend."

If these responses manifested a determination to maintain the importance and proper independence of the colony, the events which occurred soon after made that determination still more apparent. For some years past the collectors and subordinate officers of customs had been in the habit of forcibly entering warehouses, and even private dwellings, upon suspicion that they contained contraband goods. Justly incensed at such an unlawful assumption of authority, several persons commenced legal actions against the revenue officers, for entries forcibly made. Shirley, during his chief magistracy, had attempted to give colour to these intrusions by the issue of warrants for the purpose. It having been proven that these warrants were worthless, Shirley next advised the custom-house officers to apply to the Supreme Court for writs of assistance, which, according to the English

exchequer practice, gave authority to the bearer to search when and where he pleased for contraband goods, and authorized him, if necessary, to summon others to his assistance. But these writs, though applied for, had been withheld, Stephen Sewall, the chief justice, having doubts as to their legality.

In September, 1760, Sewall died. As the political predilections of his successor would necessarily have some weight in deciding upon the legality of the obnoxious writs of assistance, Hutchinson, already lieutenant-governor, councillor, and judge of probate, was appointed by Bernard to the vacant seat, greatly to the chagrin of James Otis, of Barnstable, a gentleman of sound legal attainments, to whom the place had been promised by Pownall, and in whose favour public opinion had already declared itself. Bernard evincing a determination to enforce the British Acts of Trade, a strenuous opposition arose. Soon after the appointment of Hutchinson, application was again made for writs of assistance, to which exception was taken by merchants of Boston, and a motion made that their legality might be argued before the court.

Accordingly, in February, 1761, Hutchinson and his four associate judges assembled to hear the arguments on the question. For the crown it was urged that a statute of Charles II. allowed writs of assistance to be issued by the

English Courts of Exchequer; that a similar power was given by a colonial law to the colonial superior court; while a statute of William III. gave to American revenue officers like powers, and a right to like assistance as in England. The refusal of the writ would consequently entail the denial of the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies. Oxenbridge Thatcher and James Otis, the elder, were employed to oppose the issue of the writs.

The younger Otis, being advocate for the Admiralty, was bound in that professional capacity to maintain the legality of the measure. Resigning his office, he accepted the retainer proffered him by the merchants; and, in conjunction with his father and Thatcher, opposed the legality of the issue. Thatcher spoke first. Reasoning on purely legal grounds, he argued that the rule of the English courts was not, in this particular case, applicable to the colonial. The younger Otis next arose, determined, as he said, to sacrifice every thing, "even life itself, to the sacred call of his country," "in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which cost one king of England his head, and another his crown."

Taking a bold stand in favour of the rights of the colonies, he attacked the Acts of Trade as oppressive, and denounced the writs as de-

structive to the fundamental principles of liberty and law. They were illegal, and no act of parliament could establish them; it would be a nullity. These arguments were advanced with a fiery and impassioned eloquence that stirred up the hearts of his hearers. Passing from lip to lip, the ardent sentiments of the young advocate created an intense political excitement. The struggle for independence was already begun.

The writs, however, were granted; yet so great was their unpopularity that they were seldom used. The public mind brooded over its discontent. The odious authority of the Admiralty court, instituted by a British parliament to punish the infringements of the Acts of Trade, in America, without the intervention of a jury, and the powers of custom-house officers, always thought grievous because unconstitutional, seemed now established by judges devoted to the prerogative. Innovations under pretence of law were confirmed by judgments incompatible with English liberties.

A powerful colonial party sprung up. At its head were the elder and the younger Otis. The latter, elected a representative from Boston, became a prominent member of the house of which his father was president, and a warm opponent of Hutchinson and his ministerial friends. He even endeavoured to exclude the latter from

the council, by a bill declaring the places of chief justice and councillor incompatible with each other; but by the influence of the government the bill was defeated.

Bernard, by various artifices, sought to win the good-will of the elder and younger Otis, though he met with but little success. While inclining to advance the governor's personal interests, they remained faithful to the principles they had espoused upon all questions of public importance.

At the opening of the assembly in September, 1762, Bernard took occasion to inform the members that, by the advice of his council, and in advance of legislative action, he had expended some three or four hundred pounds upon a ship and sloop employed to guard the fishing vessels from privateers. To this act the house, regarding it as unconstitutional, took exception. The younger Otis drew up a remonstrance, denouncing it as an infringement of "their most darling privilege, the right to originate all taxes." "It would be of little consequence to the people," said he, "whether they were subject to George or Louis—the King of Great Britain or the French king—if both were arbitrary, as both would be if both could levy taxes without parliament." A cry of treason was raised. Otis, passionate, but not intractable, consented to qualify the offensive passage in which the king's

name had been so freely used; Bernard, however, insisted on its complete erasure, and his friends were yet sufficiently numerous to prevail.

Overpowered in the assembly, Otis vindicated the justice of his language through a pamphlet, which he published at the close of the session, and in which the grand principles of the declaration of independence,—resistance to tyranny, the natural equality of mankind, and the illegality of taxation without representation,—were boldly avowed and defended.

In the mean time George III. had succeeded to the throne of Great Britain. No immediate change of ministerial policy followed the accession of the young king; but after a little while dissension arose in the cabinet, which compelled Pitt to resign. He was succeeded by Lord Bute, the king's late preceptor.

In February, 1763, the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed. Relieved of other cares, the English ministry now turned their attention toward the colonies, various measures for the better control of which they had been maturing for the past ten or twelve years.

CHAPTER XV.

Feud between the regulars and provincials—Good understanding among the several provinces—Condition of England—Financial embarrassments—Project to tax America—Parliament asserts the right to tax the colonies—The Stamp Act proposed—Colonial agitation—Massachusetts remonstrates—Passage of the Stamp Act—Proceedings in Boston—The Virginia resolutions—A congress of colonial delegates recommended—Petition and remonstrances forwarded to England—Riots in Boston—Personal safety of Hutchinson endangered—Resignation of the stamp-distributor—Repeal of the stamp-tax—Whigs and Tories—Opposition to the revenue Laws—Increasing unpopularity of Governor Bernard—Townsend's bill for taxing America—Its reception in Boston—Message of Bernard to the house of representatives—The legislature adjourned—Seizure of the sloop Liberty—Alarm of the commissioners of customs—Popular demonstration—Public meeting called—The house of representatives dissolved—Arrival of troops—Convention of provincial delegates at Faneuil Hall.

During the prevalence of the various intercolonial wars, the provincial levies, upon whom the severer and more dangerous duties of the service frequently devolved, had borne with feelings of ill-suppressed indignation the display of superiority assumed by the British officers. The feud, thus engendered, was not wholly suppressed even by the conciliatory conduct of Pitt. A rivalry in arms had sprung up. A long continuance of hostilities had inspired many of the

colonists with a natural ardour which increased as they became familiarized to arms and the usages of war. By the intermixture, also, of troops from different provinces, local prejudices had been removed, the strength and resources of the colonies made more apparent to one another, and the idea of union, in a common cause, diffused among the people.

Upon colonies thus conscious of their power, full of trained soldiers and accustomed to political independence, the British ministry prepared to exercise a restrictive policy. The expenses of the various wars in which England had been engaged, from the time when William of Orange ascended the throne to the late conquest of Canada, had accumulated a national debt of seven hundred millions of dollars. The great increase of territory acquired by the peace of Fontainebleau was but a poor compensation for the financial distress into which the country was plunged by the expenses of the war. Some portion of this enormous outlay being justly chargeable to the defence of the American colonies, the ministry sought a partial relief in the future by endeavouring to draw from the provinces a revenue sufficient to defray the cost of their support and protection.

They attempted to accomplish this desirable result through the action of parliament, whose right to control the colonies was at that time

reluctantly acknowledged by many of the most prominent men in America. If the revenue they required could be obtained in this way, it was easily foreseen that the independence of the provincial assemblies would be henceforth restricted, and the royal prerogative considerably enlarged.

Out of the revenue thus raised, it was proposed to support ten thousand regular troops in America as a peace establishment. A scheme for parliamentary taxation had been originated early in the commencement of the late war. Though laid aside at that time by the pressure of other duties, it was now revived by the new ministry, at the head of which was George Grenville, formerly President of the Board of Trade. Already, by the passage of laws professedly for the regulation of trade and commerce, parliament exercised a dubious authority over the colonies. These laws, though strenuously opposed at first, especially by the people of New England, had at length been reluctantly submitted to by some, and were as systematically evaded by others. Having thus opened the way for more serious exactions, the House of Commons, in March, 1764, at the recommendation of Grenville, resolved, "that parliament had a right to tax the colonies," and advised a bill imposing a duty on stamps, by which a great variety of legal papers, to be valid in courts of law, were to

be written on stamped paper, sold by public officers appointed for that purpose, and at prices which included a stated tax on every such document.

Immediately on receiving intelligence of the passage of this resolution, the colonies became agitated by mingled feelings of alarm and indignation. Leading the opposition, Massachusetts forwarded to London a remonstrance and petition. While acknowledging subordination to Great Britain, she firmly, but respectfully, protested against the proposed measure, and declared that, by submitting to taxation without representation, the people would be reduced from free subjects to "the miserable condition of tributary slaves."

Similar petitions and remonstrances flowed in from other colonies. In spite of these, however, the obnoxious bill was passed through parliament. On the 22d of March, 1765, the Stamp Act was imposed.

The ominous tidings of its passage was received in Boston with every token of intense indignation. Amid the muffled tolling of bells, the flags of the vessels in port were hung at half-mast; the act itself, bearing the impress of a death's head in lieu of the royal arms, was cried about the streets under the title of "England's Folly and the Ruin of America." The newspapers were filled with articles in opposition.

The "Constitutional Courant" appeared with a new and significant head-piece, representing the divided portions of a snake, marked with the initial letters of the thirteen colonies, above which was the motto, "Join, or die."

The assembly of Virginia being in session when the intelligence arrived in that province, was the first to act in the emergency. A series of resolutions were passed, drawn up by Patrick Henry, in language so bold and spirited that the government party did not hesitate to call it treasonable. Before these resolutions reached Boston, the general court had convened and appointed a committee to consider the proper course to be pursued under the existing circumstances. By this body, a congress of delegates from the several colonial legislatures was recommended to meet in New York. Bernard, and the friends of government, not venturing to withhold their support from this proposition, it was adopted.

Accordingly, in October, deputies from nine colonies met in convention at the city of New York, and agreed upon a solemn declaration of rights, in which they claimed exemption from all taxes except those levied by their respective legislatures. Petitions to the king, and to the House of Commons, and a memorial to the House of Lords, were also unanimously adopted. Respectful and affectionate, yet firm and manly

in their tone, these documents pointed out, with great force and perspicacity, the grievances, and explained the rights and privileges of the colonies, humbly praying that the former might be redressed and the latter respected.

But the indignation of the provincials against the Stamp Act was not confined to legitimate and legislative action. In Boston, formidable outbreaks occurred. Prominent friends of the ministry were hung in effigy. The house of the lieutenant-governor was mobbed, and Hutchinson himself obliged to fly for his life. Oliver, who had been appointed stamp-distributor for the province, was frightened into resigning his office. Though the actors in these scenes of open violence were well known, they were secured from punishment by the tacit approbation with which their course was regarded by the people.

In other colonies, riots also became frequent; the stamp-distributors were everywhere compelled to resign, and all attempts to carry the obnoxious law into effect proved utterly useless.

In the mean time, by a change in the English ministry, the Rockingham party had come into power. Ostensibly more liberal than their predecessors, and finding the stamp-tax wholly inoperative, the new ministry procured its repeal at the parliamentary session of 1766.

With singular inconsistency, a bill was passed at the same time, claiming the right of parlia-

ment to enact measures to secure the dependency of the colonies, "in all cases whatsoever," and declaring that the exclusive privilege of levying taxes, as contended for by their respective legislatures, was derogatory to and incompatible with the authority of the crown.

This declaration the colonists regarded as merely adopted to soften the chagrin of those who now unwillingly submitted to a withdrawal of the stamp-tax. It did not, therefore, interfere with the general joy which their signal triumph had elicited. But though the extreme agitation of the great body of the people throughout the colonies subsided with the abrogation of a measure so dangerous to their liberties, the two great parties of Tories and Whigs, the one supporting the royal prerogative, and the other defending the popular independence, still maintained their respective organizations. Occasions were not wanting to enlarge and deepen the breach.

In several instances wherein goods were forfeited for having been smuggled into Boston contrary to the provisions of one of the Acts for the regulation of trade, the sympathy of the citizens had been strongly excited in favour of the losers, and no slight degree of indignation was vented against the astringent regulation and its parliamentary framers. The overbearing conduct also of Bernard, in endeavouring to force

the house of representatives to elect as councillors only such persons as he approved, contributed greatly to keep alive party differences, and to augment the strength of the Whigs.

The principal act of the general court at the session of 1766, was a somewhat singular one, yet, by an examination of the circumstances, easily to be understood. Avowing their disapproval of the late riotous proceedings, they passed a bill granting an equivalent in money to those persons whose property had been injured or destroyed during the disturbances. At the same time, and in the same bill, as a manifestation of their determination to resist all such measures as that which had lately elicited the anger of the people, they granted a free pardon and indemnity for losses sustained by arrests, imprisonments, or other legal steps taken against them, to all concerned in the riots.

The session of 1767 presented nothing of marked historical importance. The quarrel with Bernard was renewed, and commissioners appointed to adjust the boundaries between Massachusetts and New York.

Soon after the adjournment, intelligence was received that Townsend, who had succeeded Grenville as chancellor of the exchequer, had procured the passage of a bill imposing certain duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours, imported into America.

Justly regarding this act as another attempt to encroach upon their rights, the colonies immediately resumed their measures of resistance. At a town meeting, held soon after in Boston, it was resolved to suspend further importation of British goods until the offensive duties were removed. Subscriptions were also opened, at the same time, to encourage the establishment of manufactories in the provinces. Propositions of a character similar to those promoted by Massachusetts were adopted by the other colonies; while resolutions, petitions, and remonstrances, contending that, when designed for revenue purposes, internal and external taxation were identical in principle, were despatched to England from all parts of America.

In Massachusetts, the dissatisfaction with Bernard continued to increase. Early in 1768, he laid before the house of representatives, then in session, a letter from Shelburne, one of the secretaries of state, severely condemning their conduct on various recent occasions in opposing the wishes of the governor. The house was immediately in an uproar. The strictures contained in the letter were founded, they said, on misrepresentations of facts, communicated by Bernard in his despatches to the English secretary. Copies of Shelburne's letter, as well as Bernard's despatches, being denied to their request, a committee was appointed to prepare a

vindication of their proceedings to the ministry. At length, after considerable time was spent in crimination and recrimination, Bernard adjourned the legislature by a violent and insulting message, of which however no notice was taken. Though no important public business was done during the session, committees of the house had privately prepared and forwarded to the other provincial assemblies, a circular proposing a common union between the colonies, to take effective and constitutional steps toward preventing the execution and procuring the repeal of the late impost Act.

In May, the house again met for the election of councillors. While yet in session, a serious outbreak occurred. The sloop Liberty, owned by John Hancock, a young merchant of Boston, and an ardent Whig, was seized by the revenue commissioners for not having entered her full cargo, which, besides the articles belonging to her owner, was composed of Madeira wine, then subject to a considerable impost tax. The popularity of Mr. Hancock, together with the general dislike of parliamentary taxation, caused this seizure to be regarded with odium, and threats of a rescue were made by the people assembled on the wharf. Alarmed by these demonstrations, the commissioners of customs were induced to place the captured vessel under protection of

the Romney man-of-war, then lying in the harbour.

Entertaining a doubt as to the legality of the seizure, and enraged that the sloop should be placed under the protection of a vessel, on board of which were several seamen who had been forcibly taken from colonial ships in port by a press-gang but a few days previous, the crowd turned upon the obnoxious commissioners, pelted them home with stones, and broke in the windows of their dwellings. More legitimate measures were taken, soon after, in the call of a public meeting, at which a remonstrance was prepared and sent to the governor, who was desired to order the Romney from the harbour. Though declining to do this, Bernard, in his answer, either through fear or a sense of justice, did not seem to regard the proceedings of the people as altogether unwarrantable.

In the midst of the excitement thus occasioned, the governor, in pursuance of his instructions from Lord Hillsborough, lately appointed to the new office of secretary of state for the colonial department, required the house of representatives to rescind the resolution which had led to their circular letter to the colonies, and to declare their "disapprobation of so rash and hasty a proceeding." But conscious of the propriety of their course, and sustained by the concurrence of nine colonies in the measures proposed, the

members, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to obey the requisition. In obedience to the peremptory orders of Hillsborough, Bernard immediately declared the assembly dissolved, and stated that, without permission from the king, he would not feel at liberty to convene it again.

The indignation of the people now rose to such a height, that the governor became alarmed for his personal safety. The commissioners of customs, regarding themselves also in jeopardy, solicited a regular military force for their protection. Accordingly, in July, General Gage received orders to remove two regiments from Halifax to Boston, and soon afterward a like number sailed from Ireland, having the same destination.

Nothing was known of this movement in Boston until the arrival of an officer to provide quarters for the Halifax regiments. A town meeting was immediately called, and Bernard requested to assemble the legislature. This he peremptorily refused to do until he had received permission from abroad. Spirited resolutions were then adopted in the meeting, declaring that the maintenance of troops in the town, against the wishes of the inhabitants, and in a time of peace, was an infringement of their rights, and a grievance of the most alarming nature. Instructions were likewise given to the selectmen of the town, desiring them to write to all the

other towns in the colony, embodying a request that they would respectively appoint delegates to a convention, to meet at Faneuil Hall in Boston, on the twenty-second of September. In conclusion, it was resolved, that as a war with France might be apprehended, such inhabitants of the province as were unprovided, be requested "to supply themselves forthwith with arms."

Though denounced as rebellious, and stigmatized as treasonable, the proposition for a convention was received with enthusiasm. Of ninety-seven towns, but one refused to join in the movement. Having met at the appointed time and place, and chosen Thomas Cushing, speaker of the late house, as chairman, the convention drew up a petition to the governor, in which, disclaiming any legislative authority, they urged the assembling of the general court as the only means of averting the alarming dangers that now threatened the destruction of the colony.

Bernard, declining to receive the petition, returned a message to the delegates, declaring that he only excused them from the charge of treason on the ground of their ignorance. He called upon them to dissolve immediately, as it was his intention to take prompt measures for asserting and maintaining the royal prerogatives.

To this threat, the convention responded by explaining the nature of their meeting, and expressing their uneasiness at the governor's

suggestion of criminality—not from personal fear, but from a fixed aversion to compromise the dignity of the king. This communication Bernard likewise refused to accept, on the ground that such an acceptance would be an admission of the lawfulness of the convention, which he would by no means allow.

Without exhibiting any annoyance, but with calmness and moderation, the delegates proceeded to draw up a report, declaring their own loyalty and that of the body of the people, whom they affectionately advised to avoid any undue expression of resentment, and to prevent, as far as possible, all tumult and disorder. For themselves, they promised that, in their several stations, they would yield their assistance to the civil authorities for the preservation of peace and order. After preparing a justification of their proceedings, and a detail of the late transactions, to be transmitted to their agent in London, the convention was dissolved.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of troops in Boston—Action of the council—Quartered in the city—General Gage—Popular alarm and indignation—British instructions to Bernard—Virginia supports Massachusetts—Repeal of all taxes except the duty on tea—Bernard summoned to England—Disclosure of his letters—Popular indignation—Spirited conduct of the legislature—Departure of Bernard—Governor Hutchinson—His policy—Dissatisfaction in Boston—Collision with the troops—Massacre of the 3d of March—Arrest and trial of Captain Preston and his soldiers—The verdict—Anniversary celebration of the massacre—The seat of government—The governor and judges to be paid by the crown—Protest of the general court—Alarm of the people—Resolutions drawn up—Unanimity of the provincial towns—Uneasiness of Hutchinson—Public agitation—Virginia declares a union of the colonies necessary—Hutchinson's letters—Charges preferred against him—His trial and acquittal—His recall.

On the same day that the convention dissolved, the two regiments from Halifax arrived. To curb the "bad spirit" which, it was alleged, prevailed in Boston, the whole force, numbering about one thousand, was stationed in the town, greatly to the indignation of its inhabitants. Difficulties immediately arose between Bernard and the council, on the subject of furnishing the soldiers with quarters, and with such barrack articles as the Mutiny Act required from the colonies.

Before the troops arrived, the council had declined to co-operate with the governor in designating their future quarters, suggesting that the proper persons to be consulted were the selectmen of the town. Castle William, they said, was abundantly capable of accommodating the two regiments from Halifax; and, until the barracks thus provided by the colony were filled, the Mutiny Act forbade any troops from being quartered on the inhabitants.

The first night after landing, by the direction of Bernard, the soldiers were accommodated with quarters in different public buildings. The next day application was made to the council for fuel, lights, and other articles enumerated by the Act of Parliament, but the latter still refused to move in the matter.

Until the quarters in Castle William were filled, they could not consider the troops outside as lawfully in barracks, and therefore they had no authority to allow the articles demanded. Denying that there was any occasion for a military force to preserve the quiet of the town, they intimated a hope that the regiments already arrived would soon be sent to the castle, and those expected from Ireland be ordered to Nova Scotia, or to some other station requiring their services.

General Gage, who arrived soon after, made an unsatisfactory attempt to settle the question.

Finding it impossible to bend the council to his wishes, he, with much difficulty, hired houses for the troops, and procured the necessary barrack-articles at the expense of the crown. The soldiers, however, were still stationed in the town, where their presence created, at first, considerable alarm; but as those feelings wore off, an almost general indignation began to manifest itself in continual quarrels between the town's-people and the soldiers.

Meanwhile, several changes had taken place in the British ministry, and various measures proposed to parliament with respect to the colonies. Resolutions were adopted censuring the late proceedings in Massachusetts as illegal, and calculated to promote insurrection and rebellion; and it was earnestly requested that Governor Bernard might be instructed to transmit the fullest information of all treasons committed within his government since January, 1768, together with the names of those most active in the perpetration of such offences, with a view that they might be brought to England for trial.

The intelligence of this proposed measure caused great uneasiness in Boston, but it soon subsided. Virginia, and the other colonies, publicly approved the course which had been taken by Massachusetts, and adopted spirited resolutions in opposition to the action meditated

by the British government. During all this time the Impost Act of 1767 had not been forgotten. In addition to the non-importation agreement, still faithfully observed, the people of Boston now took a bolder step, and reshipped obnoxious goods to England. This, with the determined concurrence of the other colonies in the engagement not to import, began to affect the prosperity of the British manufacturers, who at length solicited to be relieved from their distress by the repeal of a law which could not be enforced. Petitions, remonstrances, and addresses were also poured in constantly from all parts of America, until finally, in April, 1770, the duties were repealed with the exception of threepence a pound on tea.

The inexpediency of taxing America was thus emphatically acknowledged, while the right to do so was as pertinaciously retained.

In April, 1769, Bernard was summoned to England; and, although he did not take his departure immediately, the people of Massachusetts testified their joy at his recall, fervently hoping it would eventually result in the appointment of a more popular officer in his place. Already detested for his misrepresentations of public men and public events in the province, new facts were disclosed, at the very moment of his removal, which raised to the highest pitch the popular indignation. Copies of letters he had

written to prominent persons connected with the British government were received by the council, and by them immediately published. In these letters he was found to have advocated the appointment, by the crown, of a royal council, in the place of that chosen by the representatives of the people; thus proposing to annul, in an important particular, the charter of the colony.

To defend the province from so glaring an encroachment upon its liberties, the council immediately despatched letters to England earnestly remonstrating against the proposition of Bernard, and respectfully suggesting that his permanent recall would be of the greatest advantage to the crown. The house of representatives, which met soon after, took a still bolder stand, and expressly petitioned for the removal of the obnoxious governor. After one more stormy contest with the house, now almost wholly composed of his bitterest political enemies, Bernard delivered his farewell message, severely condemnatory of their proceedings, and prorogued all further legislation until the tenth of January, 1770. A few days afterward he embarked for England, amid the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of public joy.

The duties of administration devolved upon Hutchinson, who presently received the royal commission as governor. Like Bernard he was

an earnest supporter of the royal prerogative, though he disapproved of the vacillating course of the English parliament; who, in his opinion, should have conceded to the colonies every thing or nothing. Already in no favour with the people, he regarded their disapproval of his course as a thing to be expected. Feeling bound to maintain the authority of the crown, yet conscious of his inability to do so with effect, he already foresaw the approach of turbulent times, the termination of which, he argued, would be fatal to British supremacy in America.

One of the principal local causes of dissatisfaction at this period was the military surveillance to which the people of Boston were subjected. Remonstrances and petitions for the removal of the troops proving wholly unavailing, the latter became especial objects of hatred to many of the citizens; who, in return, were regarded with an equal antipathy. Out of this turbulent condition of things arose frequent quarrels and collisions, very seriously compromising the public peace. At length an occurrence took place which created an intense sensation throughout the whole province.

On Saturday, the 3d of March, 1770, a difficulty occurred between the soldiers and the populace, in which several privates of the twenty-ninth regiment were roughly handled. Nothing further transpired until the following Monday.

Early in the evening of that day there were symptoms of an approaching tumult. About eight o'clock, on a slight affray between two soldiers and a few of the inhabitants, the alarm bell was struck. A large number of citizens, armed with bludgeons and greatly excited, immediately poured into King street. Having dispersed, shortly after, in little knots about the town, some of their number encountered the sentinel at the custom-house, whom they began to pelt with snow and pieces of ice. A sergeant and six men from the main guard, followed by Captain Preston, the officer of the day, hastened to the protection of their comrade. This reinforcement being received with showers of snowballs, in some of which stones were concealed, Preston ordered his men to charge upon the rioters and disperse them. Undaunted by hearing this command, the crowd loudly dared the troops to fire. At this moment, struck by a bludgeon, one of the soldiers fell. Exasperated by the blow, he sprung up immediately and fired at the supposed aggressor. At the same time his comrades, with one exception, discharged their pieces with deadly effect into the multitude. Three persons were killed outright, and five wounded, two of them mortally.

The excitement that ensued was terrific. In the midst of the confusion the soldiers escaped to the main guard, to strengthen which several

additional companies were brought up. On the arrival of Hutchinson, he at once demanded of Preston by what authority he had ordered the soldiers to fire. Before the latter could answer, a cry was raised, "The Town House, the Town House!" and thither the people immediately rushed, bearing Hutchinson in their midst. Stepping out upon a balcony, he entreated the people to retire peaceably to their homes, assuring them that a full and impartial enquiry should be made into the whole affair. With a wild shout of "Home, home!" they separated tumultuously.

Notwithstanding this evidence of submission to the laws, the town continued to be fearfully agitated for several days. A grand procession accompanied the bodies of the slain to one grave, with all those marks of respect which are usually accorded to men who fall in the cause of freedom. Committees from town meetings demanded the instant removal of the troops, predicting scenes of blood and carnage if the requisition was not complied with. As desirous of preserving peace as of maintaining the royal authority, Hutchinson reluctantly yielded, and the obnoxious regiments were removed to Castle William. Preston, and the eight soldiers particularly implicated in the massacre, were committed for trial during the following October; John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two prominent

friends of the people, being wisely retained as counsel for the prisoners. Preston having given no orders to fire was acquitted, as were also eight of his men, against whom nothing could be positively proved. The remaining two were found guilty of manslaughter. Justice was thus rigidly administered to all. The outraged feelings of the people were properly vindicated, while their own violence was tacitly rebuked. Upon parliament the guilt of blood now properly rested, from its unwarranted interference with the civil regulations of the colony.

The tragical event of the "Massacre," as it was soon called, sunk deep into the hearts of the people. Its anniversary was solemnly observed. Orators, celebrated for their eloquence, taking for their theme the arbitrary conduct of England, and the oppressions under which the provinces laboured, sent out their fiery appeals from colony to colony, and enkindled that patriotic heat which afterward sustained the American people through all the dark and weary hours of the Revolution.

During the two following years but few events of marked political importance occurred. The usual dispute was continued between the governor and his friends as supporters of the royal prerogative, and the members of both houses as defenders of the rights of the peeple.

The seat of government having been removed,

during Bernard's term, to Cambridge, and retained there by subsequent orders from England, the popular desire for its transfer back to Boston was for some years unheeded. At length, in 1772, Hutchinson consented to the change, and by this means succeeded in restoring a temporary quiet. In the midst of his dream of tranquillity, Hutchinson was startled by a fresh ebullition of popular feeling,—not violent, but evidencing a more determined spirit of independence. Hitherto the salary of the governor, as well as that of the chief justices, had been paid by annual grants of the general court. Notice was now given that, hereafter, these salaries would be disbursed by the crown. This intelligence, so far as regarded the governor's salary, was received during the session of 1772. Resolutions were immediately adopted denouncing it as a violation of the colonial charter, and destructive to the independence of the executive.

A month or two after the adjournment, the royal grant for paying the chief justices was made public. Viewing this as a species of judicial bribery, the people were at once alarmed and indignant. "A crisis is at hand," said they, "in which the freedom or slavery of our posterity must be decided." A town meeting was called. A committee was appointed to draw up a statement of the rights of the province, and of all

infringments thereon. This report was bold and spirited. It avowed that the numerous grievances under which the colonies laboured were sufficient to justify them in revolting, and erecting an independent government. The proposition to lay these declarations before the general court, for their sanction, and afterward transmit copies to the various colonial assemblies, was adopted with such extraordinary unanimity as to embrace the assent of nearly every town in the province. Hutchinson became alarmed. Forgetting, in his perplexity, his instructions to avoid disputes with the general court, he introduced the subject in his message at the opening of the session of 1773, and undertook to confute the statements made in the report. Both branches of the legislature immediately drew up replies. Steadily pointing to the charter, they showed how often it had been violated, and announced their determination to protect it from all future encroachments as far as their ability permitted.

For force of logic, eloquence of language, and elevation of thought, these documents have rarely been surpassed. Even Hutchinson was compelled to admire where he would not be convinced. Without taking up the report of the Boston committee, the house prepared and passed a set of resolutions of their own, one of which, covering perhaps the whole ground, asserted that the only authority from which laws could ema-

nate, so as to bind the people of the province *in all cases whatsoever*, resided in the general court or assembly. Raising the salaries of the judges, they voted a grant for their payment; but as Hutchinson would not give it his sanction, the difficulty was permitted to remain open for a season.

On Hutchinson's return, shortly after, from arranging, as it was then supposed, a final settlement of the long-disputed boundary question between New York and Massachusetts, he found the public mind greatly agitated. Virginia, in a series of noble resolutions, had responded to the appeal of the Boston committee, declaring a union of the colonies necessary, and recommending each legislature to appoint a committee of correspondence, whose duties it should be to communicate with one another on subjects important to the general welfare. A storm was also gathering around Hutchinson himself. During the second legislative session of the year, after endorsing the Virginia resolutions, the house took into consideration several copies of letters received from Franklin, at that time agent of the province in England. These letters, which had fallen accidentally into Franklin's possession, were from Hutchinson, Oliver, and others, and contained, like those of Bernard, exaggerated details of colonial proceedings, the temper and disposition of the people were unfavourably

represented; and the whole tendency of the correspondence was to show the necessity of coercive measures against the province, if not a total abrogation of its charter, in order to secure the implicit obedience and subordination of the people.

Repressing with difficulty an improper outbreak of their scorn and indignation, both branches of the general court, with scarcely a dissenting voice, passed a petition and remonstrance to the crown, charging the governor and lieutenant-governor with betrayals of their trust, and with having given private, partial, and false information, with a view to the injury of the colony. As being guilty of these offences, the legislature prayed for justice against them, and their speedy removal from their respective offices.

During the following February the British council, at the particular desire of Hutchinson's friends, accorded a hearing to the petition for his removal. Franklin attended as agent of the colony, and against him the foul-mouthed Wedderburne, as council for Hutchinson, opened an almost overwhelming torrent of abuse. Dunning, who acted as counsel for the petitioners, made but a lame reply, and the complaint was dismissed as "groundless, scandalous, and vexatious." Hutchinson's recall, however, had already been determined on, though it was only

intended to be temporary, or until the power of a military executive should have curbed the free spirit of the colonists. For the part which Franklin had taken in this affair, he was deprived of his office of deputy postmaster-general. But these indignities were speedily forgotten in the momentous events which were slowly maturing at this time in the American colonies.

CHAPTER XVII.

The tax upon tea—Its repeal agitated—Non-importation agreement—Drawback allowed on tea—Its shipment to America—Conduct of Pennsylvania, New York, South Carolina, Massachusetts—Destruction of tea in Boston harbour—Port of Boston closed—Gage appointed governor—Reception of the Boston port bill—Action of the colonies—A national congress recommended—Warlike preparations—Convention at Milton—National congress at Philadelphia—Provincial congress at Salem—At Cambridge—Committee of Safety organized—Ward and Pomeroy appointed generals of militia—British detachment ordered to Concord—Skirmish at Lexington—At Concord—Gathering of the provincials—Retreat of the British—Advance of Lord Percy—Arrival of the regulars at Charlestown—British and American loss—Congress of Massachusetts—Additional levies ordered—Address to the people of Great Britain.

MEANWHILE, the repeal of the impost tax upon tea was being agitated. Not looked upon as a heavy grievance, there was yet seen in it a determination to establish taxation of the colo-

nies as the right of parliament. Harmless in appearance, it was an insidious attempt to draw the Americans into an acknowledgment of the claim they had so long and earnestly resisted. Non-consumption and non-importation agreements had been entered into throughout the different colonies; and, being pretty faithfully observed, the tax on tea, as an assertion of parliamentary right, was rendered almost nugatory. Teas imported through England were seldom, if ever, in the market. The British East India Company's warehouses contained seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which no market could be found. Offering the company a drawback equal to the amount of duty, government prepared to force a large supply of the obnoxious article into the colonies; where, as the tax was now merely nominal, they hoped it would be willingly received and find a ready sale.

Regarding this scheme as a design to cheat them into compliance with a principle they hated, and thereby open the way to unlimited taxation, the people were determined to thwart it. The vessel bearing tea to Philadelphia was stopped four miles below the city, and sent back to England. A similar destination was given to the cargoes intended for New York. At Charleston, the tea was stored under custom-house care, but it was not permitted to be sold.

Massachusetts was even more daring in her

resistance. Boston, backed by the neighbouring towns, on the arrival of the first of the tea ships, succeeded in terrifying its master into a promise of immediate departure, provided the consignees would give their consent. Committees from town meetings, petitioning and expostulating, vainly endeavoured to move their compliance. More stringent measures were threatened. Still holding to their determination, the consignees fled to the safety of the castle. A clearance was then demanded from the collector of customs. This he refused to give until the cargo was landed. Application was next made to Hutchinson for a permit, without which no vessel would be allowed to leave the harbour. He, too, refused. Meanwhile, a second and a third vessel had arrived. Finding their comparatively peaceable efforts for the removal of the tea to avail but little, the people decided upon its destruction. Disguising themselves as Mohawk Indians, a party of some fifty men marched down to the wharf and boarded the ships. It was about dusk on the evening of the 16th of December, 1773. A town meeting had just broken up. Its members, still agitated by the stirring eloquence of Quincy, had followed to the wharf, where they now remained silent and anxious spectators of the scene. For two hours they lingered, until, with a single exulting shout, the Indians completed their labour. Two hundred and forty

chests of tea had been broken open, and their contents thrown into the waters of the Atlantic.

Great was the indignation of the ministry when they received intelligence of the fate of the tea. The destiny of their American power was there foreshadowed. But they would not yield without a struggle. A bill for closing the port of Boston and removing the seat of government to Salem, was immediately passed in parliament. Another, virtually annulling the colonial charter, followed. To insure the enforcement of these and other odious measures, General Gage, now commander-in-chief of the army in North America, was appointed governor, in the place of Hutchinson, whom, for the present, it was determined to recall. An addition of four regiments was also made to the troops already in the castle.

While the ministry were thus employed, Hutchinson had been contending, for the last time, with his old enemies of the general court. In February, 1774, the subject of the justices' salaries was again brought before the legislature. Of the five judges, Oliver, the chief, alone refused to receive his pay from the province instead of the crown. Thwarted in an attempt to procure his removal, the house exhibited articles of impeachment against him; but before they could be fully acted upon, Hutchinson, after announcing his recall, prorogued the court.

Soon after, intelligence was received of the passage of the port bill. Assembling in town meeting on the 13th of May, the people of Boston took the new measure into grave and solemn consideration. Appealing to God and to the world, they proclaimed its injustice and cruelty. In order to enforce its repeal, resolutions were adopted and ordered to be transmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to renew their non-importation agreements as to all British goods. While the meeting was thus employed, Gage had landed in the town, with scarcely a welcome, and with none of the usual marks of public joy.

Copies of the port bill were despatched to all parts of the colonies. Fierce was the flame that arose. Meetings were everywhere held, responding to that of Boston. The assembly of Connecticut recommended a National Congress. The house of burgesses of Virginia appointed the first of June, on which the Act went into operation, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. Being immediately afterward dissolved, they met privately and recommended a National Congress. In the other colonies, also, this idea was broached and encouraged. By the Massachusetts general court, which presently met at Salem, the expediency of such a congress was declared, and Thomas Cushing, John and Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, and James Bowdoin, appointed delegates. The congress was to meet

at Philadelphia on the first of September. To defray the expenses of the delegates, five hundred pounds were to be raised by the several towns and districts in the province. Having disposed of this business, they recommended the adoption of non-importation and non-consumption agreements, which, notwithstanding the efforts of Gage, were afterward put into operation throughout the colony. On the very day in which this recommendation was made, Gage, already incensed by an address of the assembly, reflecting severely on his two immediate predecessors, sent the provincial secretary to proclaim a dissolution. Finding the doors locked, and being denied admittance, the secretary read the governor's proclamation on the stairs. Thus ended the last provincial assembly of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile, the port bill was working with injurious effect. Though liberal contributions were raised for her in the different colonies, Boston, now cut off from commerce—the main dependence of her twenty thousand inhabitants—suffered in the extreme. The people of Salem, Marblehead, and other seaport towns, nobly refusing to rise upon the ruins of their neighbour, addressed themselves to Gage, and, in the glowing language of generous feeling, besought his influence in mitigating or removing the distress to which Boston was subjected. To the

merchants of that city they offered the use of their stores, wharves, and even their personal services, free of all charge.

The dawn of American independence was at hand. Already, a contest seemed inevitable. Gage was determined and active. He issued proclamations against sedition, concentrated six regiments in Boston, fortified the Neck, seized the provincial military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown, and in every way evidenced his fear of outbreak. The colonists, on the other hand, were not idle. The country was alive with warlike preparation. "Minute-men" were training on every green. Arms were cleaned, ammunition prepared, and military stores collected. Town meetings and county conventions —held in every town and village—aroused, sustained, and guided the spirit of resistance. Gage's seizure of the powder at Charlestown had created intense excitement, and large numbers of people assembled in arms at Cambridge. With difficulty they were persuaded from making an immediate attack upon the troops. Soon after, further evidence was given of the inflamed state of public feeling. It having been rumoured that the British fleet were firing upon Boston, in less than twenty-four hours nearly thirty thousand militia were in arms, marching to the relief of their beleaguered capital. Only on

discovering the falsity of the rumour would they disperse.

By the late parliamentary law, the councillors and judges derived their appointments from the crown. In August, Gage received a list of thirty-six councillors thus appointed. Of these, the greater part were sworn in; but the popular hatred soon became so violent against them, that many were terrified into resigning. The new judges fared no better. Juries would not serve under them; and, in some places, their sittings were broken up.

On the 6th of September, a large convention assembled at Milton, in Suffolk county, to which Boston belonged, and passed a series of spirited resolutions and recommendations; among others, that no obedience was due to any of the recent Acts of Parliament; and that the councillors under the new law, who did not immediately resign, were to be treated as obstinate and incorrigible enemies of their country. The people were also exhorted to perfect themselves in military exercises; and the tax-collectors requested not to pay over any money in their hands until the province was "placed on a constitutional foundation," or until the provincial congress, which they had recommended, should otherwise order. These resolutions were forwarded to the National Congress, then in session at Philadelphia.

That body, composed of delegates from twelve provinces, during a long and anxious session of fifty-two days, prepared a declaration of rights, a petition to the king, a memorial to the people of England, and an address to the inhabitants of Canada. One of their first public acts was the adoption of a series of resolutions expressive of their genuine sympathy for their fellow-countrymen of Massachusetts. Approving of their late proceedings, they encouraged them to persevere, firmly but temperately, in the line of conduct proposed by the convention at Milton; and resolved that the whole continent ought to extend them its cordial support in resisting the recent tyrannical abrogation of their ancient and approved charter. These resolutions were sent to Gage, accompanying a high-toned but judicious letter, in which they remonstrated against his arbitrary exercise of military rule, which could only drive the people to desperation; and concluded with an earnest entreaty that he would discontinue the fortifications in Boston.

Meanwhile, Gage had called a session of the house of representatives, to meet at Salem early in October. Events changing his determination, however, he countermanded this call. Elections were, nevertheless, held, and on the 11th of October, the new members met at Salem. Having waited a day for some one to administer the usual oaths, and nobody appearing, they resolved

themselves into a provincial congress, chose Hancock for president, and adjourned to Concord. Having drawn up a memorial to Gage, declaring that until the military preparations in Boston were discontinued, he need not hope for satisfaction among the people, they adjourned to Cambridge, whence a committee was sent to the governor with their memorial. Gage, in answering, said that his preparations were justified by a regard for his own safety, and concluded by calling upon them to desist from their proceedings, which were illegal. The congress, however, in defiance of punishments threatened, continued in session until toward the close of November, when they temporarily adjourned. During their session, they appointed a Committee of Safety, at the head of which was Hancock, with power to call out the militia; the militia were authorized to elect their company and regimental officers; and, at the same time, Ward and Pomeroy, the latter of whom had been a colonel in the French and Indian war, were commissioned as generals. Military stores were ordered to be procured, toward which twenty thousand pounds were appropriated; and the tax-collectors were called upon to pay over their funds to the newly-appointed provincial treasurer. Meeting again in February, 1775, prompt measures were taken to arm and equip the militia. Magazines of provisions and military stores were

established. Having prepared an address to the people, and appointed a day of fasting and prayer, the congress again adjourned for a short interval.

Matters were now approaching a crisis. On Sunday, the 26th of February, 1775, Gage sent a detachment of one hundred and fifty regulars to seize a quantity of cannon deposited at Salem. They were obliged to return, however, empty-handed, the cannon being nowhere to be found. In the search for them, they barely avoided a contest with a party of the militia.

Not long after this affair, the Massachusetts Congress re-assembled. While yet in session intelligence of the most exciting character was received. On the evening of the 18th of April, Gage despatched a force of some eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, to seize and destroy a quantity of military stores which he had been informed were collected at Concord, some twenty miles from Boston. It was reported that the expedition had also in view the arrest of Hancock and Adams. Every precaution was taken to prevent an alarm, but to no purpose; the firing of guns and ringing of bells heralded their swift and silent advance. About sunrise on the morning of the nineteenth, the detachment arrived at Lexington. On a green not far from the road, a small party of minute-men were drawn up.

Pitcairn, who was at the head of the British column, riding toward the militia, called out—"Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse!" His order was not promptly obeyed. Some scattering shots were then fired by the British troops, who, immediately after, with a loud shout, poured in a regular volley, by which eight of the provincials were killed. Dispersing, they returned the fire, which had been entirely unprovoked.

Having thus routed the few provincials at Lexington, the detachment marched on to Concord, which they entered unresisted, and destroyed the stores they found there. At their approach, however, a few minute-men, assembled on the green, had retired across a bridge back of the town. This bridge was placed under the guard of three companies of British light infantry. The provincials, from the hill where they were posted, seeing several fires in the town, which they thought were from burning houses, now came down to the bridge and made a peaceable attempt to cross. Pulling up a few planks, the guard retired to the Concord side of the river; and the minute-men still advancing, they sent in a volley, by which two of the provincials were killed. Immediately the fire was returned, and, with a loss of several men, the regulars fled to the main body in town. A retreat was now ordered and hastily begun.

There was good cause. The whole country was alive with their exasperated and determined foes; who, hurrying in from all sides, now poured in upon the British troops from behind houses, trees, fences, and every place affording cover, an irregular but continued and deadly fire. Worn down with heat, and retiring in a disorderly manner, the detachment at length arrived at Lexington, where, fortunately for their safety, they were met by a supporting column of nine hundred men and two pieces of cannon, under the charge of Lord Percy.

Breathing a little, the whole party now fell back toward Boston. As soon as the retreat was resumed, the provincials renewed their fire, which was kept up with increasing vigour during the rest of the march. About sunset, utterly exhausted with their march of thirty-five miles, the regulars arrived at Charlestown. Encamping that night on Bunker Hill, the next morning they crossed over to Boston.

During this engagement, in which from eight to sixteen hundred of their best troops contended with an irregular force of provincials, at no one time exceeding five hundred men, the British lost a grand total of two hundred and seventy-three in killed, wounded, and missing. Of the provincials, fifty were killed and thirty-eight wounded.

Immediately on receiving this intelligence, the

Congress of Massachusetts voted to raise thirteen thousand six hundred men, which it was hoped the other New England colonies would augment to thirty thousand. An artillery regiment was authorized, at the head of which Gridley, an old engineer officer, was placed. A captain-generalship was given to Ward, and Thomas was made a lieutenant-general. To provide for the expenses of the new recruits, paper currency to the amount of £100,000 was ordered to be issued. An account of the recent battle was then drawn up, accompanied with depositions to show that the regulars were the aggressors, and despatched to England. With it was a brief but spirited address to the people of Great Britain, in which, still professing loyalty to the king, hardly as they had been used, the colonists yet avowed their determination not to submit to the tyranny of an evil ministry; and, appealing to the justice of Heaven, expressed their resolution "to die or be free."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Reception by the colonies of the battle of Lexington—Boston invested by the provincials—Green commissioned by Rhode Island—Putnam appointed to command the Connecticut troops—Stark arrives with reinforcements from New Hampshire—Meeting of the continental congress—Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Allen and Warner—Gage proclaims martial law—Intrenchments thrown up on Breed's Hill—Movements of the British—Battle of Breed's or Bunker Hill—Death of Warren—Washington appointed commander-in-chief—His arrival in camp before Boston—Siege of Boston—Provincial government organized—Falmouth bombarded and burned—Privateering encouraged by the general court—Reassembling of the continental congress—The army reorganized—Patriotic conduct of Colonel Whitcombe—Gage recalled—Howe appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces—Washington prepares to assault Boston—The town adandoned by the enemy.

The tidings of the battle of Lexington flew with wonderful rapidity from colony to colony, and every where excited the most determined spirit of resistance to ministerial oppression. Flushed with a success almost unparalleled in military history, the provincials lost all fear, and were confident of final victory in the contest which had been forced upon them. Armies were created as if by magic. Two days after the battle, Boston was invested by a volunteer force of twenty thousand men. Rhode Island immediately voted an army of observation fifteen

hundred strong, to command which Nathaniel Green, a young ironmaster, already in the field before Boston, was commissioned. Six thousand men were voted by Connecticut, four thousand of which were to aid their brethren in Massachusetts. General Putnam, a veteran of sixty winters, accustomed to the storms of battle, was placed at their head. New Hampshire called for three regiments, two of which were already under the command of the adventurous Stark, in the investing army around Boston. In the middle and southern colonies a no less active spirit prevailed, and every thing betokened an earnest struggle.

The Continental Congress, which met in May, at once entered actively into business. Denying any present design of independence, they resolved that war was already commenced by Great Britain, and measures were taken for the speedy organization of an army for the defence of the "United Colonies." Declaring the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts dissolved, they recommended the inhabitants of that province to form a new government according to the powers contained in their original charter.

Meanwhile, an adventurous party, under the direction of Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, had surprised and captured the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, along with which a large

quantity of valuable and much needed military stores fell into their hands. Boston was still under close investment, and Gage began to feel its effects. The want of fresh provisions was a serious inconvenience; to remedy which, foraging parties were sent out upon some of the small islands in the bay, but on every occasion the inhabitants beat them off, at times with considerable loss. Beyond these skirmishes, for a period of nearly two months both the besieged and the besiegers were apparently idle. Gage, however, had been receiving constant accession to his garrison, while the Americans were occupied in drilling their brave but untrained recruits.

With a force now augmented to some ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, Gage proclaimed martial law as a prelude to more vigorous action against the refractory colonists. Pardon, however, was offered to all who would immediately lay down their arms and return to their allegiance, Samuel Adams and John Hancock only excepted, "whose crimes were of that nature which condign punishment" alone could expiate.

This proclamation aroused the activity of the Americans, now some sixteen thousand in number, under the command of John Whitcombe and Dr. Joseph Warren, who had been commissioned as first and second major-generals of the Massachusetts forces. Hitherto Charlestown had

been neglected by both parties. Whether they should act on the offensive or defensive, the Americans viewed its possession as important. Accordingly, on the night of the 16th of June, pursuant to previous orders, Colonel Prescott, with about fifteen hundred men, set out to occupy Bunker Hill, a considerable height just within the peninsula of Charlestown. Prescott, through some mistake, passed on to Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but much nearer Boston, where, by daylight, his party had thrown up a small but formidable redoubt. When the morning mists broke away, the guns of the Lively, British man-of-war, summoned the town, the camp, and the fleet to witness a sight that seemed but little less than a prodigy—so silently and expeditiously had the American entrenchments arose. Immediately a heavy cannonade was opened upon the provincials. With the coolness of veterans they continued their toil, extorting admiration even from their enemies. By noon they had thrown up a breastwork, extending from the redoubt down toward the northern foot of the hill. As the eminence thus partially fortified might command Boston, Gage determined to dislodge the Americans. For this purpose two thousand picked men, led by Generals Howe and Pigot, crossed over in boats to Moreton's Point, where, forming under cover of the guns of the fleet, they remained

until additional troops had swelled their number to nearly three thousand.

Meanwhile Stark, with the two New Hampshire regiments, arrived on the ground. Taking a position to the left, and in the rear of the yet unfinished breastwork, he secured an imperfect cover for his men behind some post and rail fences, set up in parallel lines a few feet apart, the space between which was filled in with new-mown hay. With this addition, the American force was probably twenty-three hundred in number. Many of these, especially those upon whom the brunt of the battle afterward fell, had been labouring all night in the entrenchments. Two field-pieces were their only artillery.

As thus the two armies prepared for a deadly struggle, thousands of anxious spectators had gathered upon the neighbouring heights, and the roofs and steeples of Boston. Over all was the calm and unclouded sky of June. About three o'clock in the afternoon, from ships and batteries, a furious cannonade broke upon the American lines. Covered by this cannonade, the British slowly advanced, halting, at times, to deliver their fire. Not till the enemy had well-nigh reached the redoubt, did the provincials show signs of life. Then, deliberate in their aim, and with the certainty of tried marksmen, they sent volley after volley into the British ranks with deadly effect. The enemy wavered, broke and fled.

While their officers rallied them for a fresh attack, Charlestown was set on fire by order of Gage. Built mostly of wood, it was soon wrapped in flames, which gave additional horror to the scene, as the British line a second time moved slowly forward. Met again by that quick and fatal succession of volleys, they again fled, confused and disheartened. A third time, forced by the swords of their officers, and encouraged by Clinton, who now made his appearance, the regulars advanced. A few pieces of artillery had gained a position to rake the breastwork; the Americans had expended their ammunition; and now, attacked on three sides, they were driven from the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. Meanwhile, the English light-infantry were pressing Stark, who, however, stood unshaken till the redoubt was lost. Clubbing their muskets, the provincials reluctantly fell back in a body, and effected a safe retreat over Charlestown Neck. Some few fell by the cannonade to which they were here exposed; a cannonade so terrible, apparently, that troops sent to reinforce them had not ventured to pass through it. The British attempted no pursuit. Advancing as far as Bunker Hill, from which the battle derives its present name, they there entrenched. Prospect Hill, immediately in front, was occupied by the Americans.

Such a victory, for the British, was but little

better than defeat. Twenty-three hundred men, mostly farmers, untrained, and little used to the horrid details of battle, with a loss of only four hundred and fifty in killed, wounded, and missing, had bravely confronted an army three thousand strong, chosen troops of the British service, and backed by the cannon of a fleet. Only when they could no longer fight, they yielded their position; one dearly gained by the victors, who lost on that momentous day ten hundred and fifty-four men, nearly one-fourth of whom were dead on the field.

Among the American slain none was more deeply lamented than General Warren, who, with Putnam, acted as a volunteer on this occasion. As a statesman, he was sagacious; as an orator, eloquent; as a patriot, ardent and sincere; and as a husband, father, and friend, beloved by the social circle in which he moved. Quitting the peaceful walks of his humane profession, he had fallen in defence of the liberties of his country, leaving an infant family, with small means of support; for whom congress, after long delay, and only through the warm and persevering efforts of Arnold, at length made suitable provision.

Meanwhile the Continental Congress had appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces. Accepting the commission in a modest speech, he declined any pe-

cuniary reward, a desire for which, he said, could never have tempted him to accept so arduous an employment at the expense of his domestic ease and happiness. Ward, Lee, Schuyler, Putnam, and Gates were commissioned as major-generals. Of these Gates and Lee had been British officers, and had served with distinction; Schuyler was from New York; and Ward and Putnam were already in camp at Boston. Pomeroy, Heath, and Thomas, of Massachusetts; Wooster, a provincial officer in the late French war, and Spencer of Connecticut; Greene, of Rhode Island; Montgomery, an Irish officer, who had gained reputation at Louisburg and Quebec; and Sullivan, a member of congress from New York, were appointed brigadiers.

Within two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill, Washington and Lee arrived in camp. At once entering upon the duties of his command, Washington determined upon a close and complete investment of Boston. An assault was not to be thought of at present. The army, excellent in materials, was badly organized. Of powder, there was hardly a dozen rounds to a man. Artillery and besieging tools were scarce, and what few they had were almost worthless. Washington, therefore, separating his force of fifteen thousand men into three grand divisions, extended his line over a distance of ten miles. The right wing, commaned by Ward, resting at

Roxbury; the left, under Lee, on Prospect Hill; while the centre, directed by the commander-in-chief himself, took post at Cambridge. A continuous chain of small cantonments kept the communication open. Parties were also stationed along the sea-coast as a check to the British foraging parties. Thus arranged, Washington put his soldiers under constant drill, at the same time intimating to congress the necessity of a new and more efficient military organization.

Following the advice of congress, a system of government was now adopted in Massachusetts, and adhered to until the formation of a constitution five years afterward, wholly in accordance with the provisions of the old charter. A house of representatives was chosen; and these, on the 19th of July, proceeded to the election of councillors. Adhering to former usage, the vacant offices of governor and lieutenant-governor were vested in the newly-elected council. While the general court was yet in session, Falmouth, now Portland, then a flourishing town of some five hundred houses, was bombarded and burned by a fleet of British cruisers, under command of one Lieutenant Mowatt. After this wanton outrage, Mowatt attempted a landing, when the unterrified inhabitants stood to their arms and he was beaten off. Previously, Mowatt had chased a vessel into Gloucester harbour, where he tried to capture her with a

party in boats. The town's-people assisting the vessel, the boats were driven back, when the Englishman commenced a fire on the town. Afterward, attempting to land, he was again foiled, losing his boats and thirty-five men. To counteract such incursions in future, the general court passed a law to authorize and encourage privateering; at the same time providing for the equipment of two armed vessels on their own account. Vessels were likewise fitted out by Washington to cut off the Boston supply-ships. Captain Manly, of the schooner Lee, distinguished himself in this service. Cruising in Massachusetts Bay, perilous from storms and the presence of the enemy, he made several prizes, among which was a brig laden with mortars, heavy guns, and working tools. These, with some cannon brought by Knox from Ticonderoga, proved a welcome addition to the resources of the continental army. Simultaneously a large supply of powder, taken from English vessels captured off Charleston, arrived in camp.

Congress, of which Hancock was now president, having assembled, under the style of the "Thirteen United Colonies," on the 5th of September, it was determined to reorganize the besieging army. By the plan agreed upon it was to consist of twenty-six regiments, numbering in all, twenty thousand men. In selecting officers, much difficulty was experienced by Wash-

ington, upon whom this duty devolved. Jealousies and heart-burnings were created, and many men would not re-enlist until they knew with whom they were to serve. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Washington laboured cheerfully; and, though compelled to encounter many examples of want of public spirit, he could point to others of brilliant patriotism. Particularly he spoke in approbation of the conduct of Colonel Asa Whitcombe, a meritorious officer, who had served in the late French war. On account of his advanced age, he had been left out of the new list of regimental officers. To give a good example to his men, who, for this supposed slight, refused to enlist again, the gallant veteran took the gun of a private. Struck with this patriotic forgetfulness of self, one of the other colonels, with a nobleness that likewise pleased the heart of Washington, resigned his regiment in favour of Whitcombe, to whom it was immediately given.

While, during the winter, Washington laboured to perfect his army, the British remained cooped up in Boston. The ministry, perhaps dissatisfied with the result of the battle of Bunker Hill, had recalled Gage, and General Howe was now commander-in-chief. The troops suffered greatly. Those encamped on Bunker Hill had no other protection than their tents. Supplies sent from England seldom came safe to hand. Salted

provisions were their chief food, and for fuel they were obliged to pull down houses.

On the 4th of March, 1776, having, almost within gunshot of twenty British regiments, disbanded one army and organized a second, Washington was prepared for a more active siege. Diverting the attention of the garrison by a vigorous cannonade from the eminence of Cambridge nearest Boston, on the night of the 4th, which was dark and favourable for the enterprise, he despatched Thomas with some two thousand men to occupy Dorchester, or South Boston Heights, a hill commanding the town, and a considerable part of the harbour of Boston. By morning a strong redoubt was thrown up. Howe, choosing between abandoning the town or dislodging the Americans, decided upon the latter. In expectation of such an attempt, Washington had prepared to force four thousand men into Boston by way of Charles' River. But a violent storm having arisen, Howe delayed his intended assault till the following day, when despairing of success, he altered his mind, and determined upon an immediate evacuation.

After gathering up all the woollen and linen goods they could find, and wantonly destroying a large quantity of salt, molasses, and other articles, belonging to private persons, the British began to embark. Howe having threatened to set the town on fire if molested in his departure,

Washington did not attempt to harass the retreat. Eleven days were consumed in the evacuation, during which time nine thousand soldiers, sailors, and marines, together with fifteen hundred unfortunate loyalists, had embarked on one hundred and fifty vessels of various kinds.

Scarcely was the evacuation completed, when Washington triumphantly entered the town. Released from their long confinement, and from the various inconveniences and insults to which they had been subjected, the inhabitants welcomed him as a deliverer. Mutual congratulations between friends and relatives detained within the British lines, and those who were kept without, were now exchanged with unusual warmth. The Massachusetts general court highly complimented Washington in an address, to which he replied with becoming modesty. Congress honoured him with a vote of thanks, and ordered a medal to be struck to commemorate his victory.

CHAPTER XIX.

Massachusetts during the war—Washington in New York—Capture of English transports—Invasion of Canada by Montgomery—March of Arnold through the wilderness—His appearance before Quebec—His junction with Montgomery—Attack on Quebec—Death of Montgomery and retreat of Arnold—Canada evacuated by the Americans—Declaration of Independence—Success of Carleton—Evacuation of New York—Washington's retreat across the Jerseys—Defeat of the Hessians—Skirmish at Princeton—Howe's movements—Battle of Brandywine—Of Germantown—Burgoyne descends from Canada—Battle of Bennington—Of Saratoga—Surrender of Burgoyne—Treaty with France—Philadelphia evacuated by Howe—Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of the French squadron—Newport invested—Defeat of Sullivan—Virginia harassed by the British—Georgia invaded—Conquest of South Carolina—Defeat of Gates—Hancock elected governor of Massachusetts—Movements of Greene—Battle of Guilford Court House—Cornwallis enters Virginia—Siege of Yorktown—Surrender of Cornwallis.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British army under Howe, the field of active military operations was shifted from the borders of Massachusetts. During the entire struggle for independence, the people escaped, with a few trivial exceptions, the immediate horrors and devastations of war. More densely settled than her sister colonies, with a militia well organized and prompt to rally against an invading force, the British, mindful of Lexington and Bunker

Hill, made no serious attempt to invade her shores. But if Massachusetts was thus exempted from the evils of invasion—if, after the two prominent battles already noticed, scarcely a skirmish was fought within her jurisdiction—it was not from any unwillingness on the part of her people to bear their full proportion of the miseries, as well as the honours and blessings, of the momentous and wearisome struggle. Patriotic, brave, and conscious that Massachusetts had been among the foremost to disseminate the principles of liberty, many of her sons served in the continental army wherever danger to the common country called them; and on many of the important battle-fields of the Revolution, their blood was liberally shed in defence of freedom and the American Union. Of the two hundred and thirty-one thousand soldiers furnished to the continental ranks during the contest for independence, no less than sixty-seven thousand were brought into service by Massachusetts alone.

Howe's destination was Halifax. Washington, ignorant of this, leaving five regiments in Boston, hastened with the main army to New York, whither he was apprehensive the British had sailed. Not long after his departure, considerable excitement was created by the appearance in Nantucket Roads, below the town, of a British squadron convoying a fleet of transports. The

population assembling in arms, they were soon driven off. Three other transports, uninformed of Howe's evacuation, coming into the harbour a few days afterward, were captured, and two hundred and fifty soldiers who were in them made prisoners.

While Washington was besieging Boston, Canada had been nearly won, and completely lost. In the fall of 1775, Montgomery, after reducing St. John's and Montreal, pushed down the St. Lawrence toward Quebec. In the mean time, Arnold, with eleven hundred men, including Morgan's Virginia Rifles and a company of artillery, was despatched from the camp before Boston to co-operate with Montgomery. After one of the most memorable marches on record, through the dense wilderness between the headwaters of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers, during which he underwent the severest toils and privations, and was abandoned by nearly half his men, Arnold, on the 5th of November, suddenly appeared on the St. Lawrence opposite Quebec. Had he been able to cross at once, the town might have fallen into his hands. While he was detained collecting boats to make the passage, Carleton, the English commandant, prepared for a desperate defence. Arnold, still hopeful, on the night of the 13th crossed the river, and the next morning drew up his little army of scarcely five hundred on the Plains of

Abraham. The British, however, would not risk an open battle. Wanting means to conduct a siege, Arnold withdrew up the river to Point au Trembles, where he joined his forces with those of Montgomery. Thus united, the two generals had but little over one thousand effective men; yet they determined to renew the attempt against Quebec. With a courage almost desperate, they decided on an assault. Before daylight on the morning of the 31st of December, in the midst of a driving snow-storm, the assault was made. Conducted with the utmost gallantry, it failed; yet victory was almost within grasp. Montgomery fell dead at the head of his column, Arnold was severely wounded, and Morgan, fighting desperately at the head of his brave Virginians, was compelled to surrender to a superior force.

With the remnant of his troops, Arnold, retiring three miles up the river, maintained the siege of Quebec during the winter. In the spring of 1776, General Thomas came to his assistance with some four hundred men; but several vessels suddenly appearing with reinforcements for the enemy, the siege was raised and the army, under the direction of Thomas, hastily fell back to Sorel. Here the small-pox broke out among the troops. Great numbers were carried off, and among the rest General Thomas. At length, meeting with disaster after

disaster, the northern army rapidly, but in good order, retreated from Canada, which again fell completely into the possession of the British.

On the 7th of June, the subject of American independence was for the first time formally introduced into Congress. At the election in May previous, the voters of Massachusetts had unanimously instructed their representatives in favour of it. On the 4th of July following, the Declaration of Independence, as drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was adopted and signed by nearly every member present in Congress.

The result of the campaign of 1776 was cheerless. Canada had been lost; and following up his advantage, Carleton had driven the northern army into Ticonderoga, capturing Crown Point and defeating Arnold in a naval engagement, by which the British won the command of Lake Champlain. In the mean time, Washington had been compelled to evacuate New York. Howe, with twenty-four thousand well-trained troops, having gained a signal victory over Putnam on Long Island, now occupied that city. Defeat after defeat pressed upon Washington, whose entire combined army was less than twenty thousand undisciplined and frequently dissatisfied men. At length, with some three thousand tentless, blanketless, and illy clad troops, he retreated across the Jerseys, hard pushed by

Cornwallis, with a force in every way superior. On the 7th of December, he took up a position on the west bank of the Delaware river opposite to Trenton, which town was immediately occupied by the advanced guard of Cornwallis, composed of about fifteen hundred Hessians. The deepest gloom now took possession of the hearts of the people; but a brilliant movement of the commander-in-chief aided greatly in restoring confidence. On Christmas night, recrossing the Delaware, then full of floating ice, nine miles above Trenton, Washington fell at daybreak the next morning upon the Hessians quartered in the town, and took two-thirds of their number prisoners with the loss of but four men, of whom two were frozen to death. Alarmed by so vigorous a movement, Howe despatched Cornwallis to attack Washington at Trenton. Rapidly moving up in force, the main body of the British, on the night of the 2d of January, 1777, were encamped in front of the American lines. For Washington to retreat was almost impossible, and a battle he was not prepared to risk. With masterly decision, he resolved upon the bold plan of attacking Cornwallis's rear, which was at Princeton. The expedient was tried, and it succeeded. Three regiments, composing the English rear guard, were met near Princeton and put to flight, with a severe loss in killed and wounded, and three hundred taken prisoners.

Cornwallis immediately fell back to Brunswick, while Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown.

In the campaign of 1777, two movements occupied the attention of the British. Howe, setting out by sea from New York, after several vain attempts to baffle the penetration of Washington, finally made a landing at the head of Chesapeake Bay, from whence he directed his march toward Philadelphia. Defeating Washington at Brandywine, and surprising Wayne at Paoli, the British forces entered Philadelphia on the 25th of September. Howe having encamped the bulk of his troops at Germantown, Washington determined to attack them at that place. An attempt to follow out this determination, though opening with every prospect of success, resulted in his disastrous defeat, with the loss of more than a thousand men. Retiring up the Schuylkill, Washington established his winter quarters at Valley Forge, some twenty miles from Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, the more important movement of the British—Burgoyne's attempt to open a communication between Canada and New York, thus forming a cordon, with the assistance of the British fleet, around the New England colonies —had been signally frustrated by Gates. Leaving Canada with an admirable army of eight thousand men, Burgoyne easily possessed him-

self of Ticonderoga. Twelve hundred men forming the rear of the retreating garrison, were attacked and dispersed. Following up his successes, Burgoyne was soon in command of Lake George. The defeat of Baum by Stark at Bennington, which was the first check to his career of victory, revived the sinking spirits of the Americans. Burgoyne's Indian allies and Canadian troops now began to desert him. Finally, defeated and hemmed in on all sides, with his ranks thinning daily, and his provisions and supplies failing, and hopeless of succour, on the 17th of October he surrendered to Gates. By this important victory, five thousand six hundred men, together with a large quantity of arms, artillery, and other military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans.

Previous to any military operations of importance in the campaign of 1778, copies of the conciliatory bills brought into parliament by Lord North, were received in America. By these bills, the primary question in dispute—the right of parliament to tax the colonies—was virtually relinquished; and a proposition offered for a treaty to renew the allegiance of the colonies to the crown.

Ever since the commencement of hostilities, the American commissioners in Paris had been vainly endeavouring to procure the assistance of France. Immediately on learning that the con-

ciliatory bills were likely to receive the sanction of parliament, Vergennes, the French minister, expressed to the commissioners the desire of France to treat with America. Accordingly, two treaties were drawn up—one of friendship and commerce, the other of defensive alliance. By these treaties, which were speedily ratified by Congress, the whole effect of the conciliatory bills, whatever it might have been, was neutralized. The determination of the Americans to win their independence remained intact.

France was now to enter into the contest. Fearful of being blockaded by a French fleet, Howe thought it best to evacuate Philadelphia. Going himself by sea to New York, he left Clinton to lead the army across the Jerseys. Washington immediately started in pursuit of Clinton. Coming up with him at Monmouth, a sharp action began, but it was broken off without any decided advantage to either party, by the approach of darkness. During the night, the British quietly retreated to the highlands of Nevisink, where they took up a strong position, and were soon afterward transported by Howe's fleet to New York.

Washington crossing the Hudson, encamped at White Plains. Having been notified of the arrival of Count D'Estaing with a French fleet consisting of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, on board which were four thousand

soldiers, Washington prepared for a movement, in co-operation with D'Estaing, against New York. Compelled to abandon this design, he turned his attention toward Newport, which was now occupied by six thousand British troops under Pigot. Sullivan, to whom the demonstration against Newport was intrusted, speedily collected five thousand New England militia, to which were added continentals sufficient to swell his army to double that number. Every thing was prepared for the attack, with the most sanguine expectations of success. But D'Estaing, who was to co-operate with the land forces, had put to sea in search of the fleet of Admiral Lord Howe. At the moment the two navies were about to engage, a terrible storm arose, separating the combatants, and so badly damaging the fleet of D'Estaing that he notified Sullivan, who, in the mean time, had crossed to the island and advanced to within two miles of Newport, that it was absolutely necessary for him to go into Boston for repairs. Reluctantly Sullivan abandoned his works and slowly retired, fighting with the British to the head of the island, whence he effected a safe retreat to the main land. The year closed without any other military operations of importance. In November, there were apprehensions of an attack upon Boston. But the British fleet under Admiral Byron, which gave cause for this alarm, was dispersed by a storm,

and one of the vessels wrecked on Cape Cod. Washington soon after went into winter quarters at Middlebrook, his left wing resting at Danbury, in Connecticut, and his right at Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

Despairing of subjugating the northern colonies, upon whose shores they found it impossible to gain more than an occasional foothold, which it required all their efforts to keep, the British, in 1779, directed their endeavours against the south. During the year, a marauding expedition was fitted out against Virginia. Beyond ravaging the sea-coast towns, by which a large amount of private and public property was destroyed, little of importance was effected. An invasion of Georgia was more successful. Savannah, and, soon after, the whole province, fell into the hands of the enemy. Lincoln, in cooperation with D'Estaing, subsequently attempted to retake Savannah, but failed with a heavy loss. Meanwhile, Massachusetts had despatched an expedition to dislodge the British from a fort they had erected and garrisoned on the Penobscot. This, too, was defeated, with a loss of nineteen vessels, large and small, composing the naval portion of the expedition.

Early in the succeeding year, Sir Henry Clinton vigorously pushed the conquest of South Carolina. On the 7th of April, he appeared before Charleston with some seven thousand

troops. After an obstinate resistance of more than a month, finding further attempts to hold the town useless, Lincoln, who had charge of the defence, capitulated, the garrison to be treated as prisoners of war. Following up this victory, Clinton soon overran the entire province, making a complete conquest. Re-establishing the royal government, and leaving Cornwallis to keep possession, he returned to New York. Gates, presently appointed by Congress to command the army in the South, was signally defeated during the following August by the British under Rawdon and Cornwallis at Camden. His army was entirely broken up. This disaster led to his removal from command, and Greene, who was named his successor, toward the close of the year, while Cornwallis was preparing for the invasion of North Carolina, made his appearance in the American camp at Charlotte.

At the north, the campaign was feebly carried on by both parties. Beyond the skirmishes between outposts and foragers, no engagements of importance took place. Six thousand French troops under Rochambeau arrived on the 10th of July, together with a considerable fleet.

Washington had projected, with their assistance, an attack upon New York; but the British fleet being reinforced, outnumbered that of the French sufficiently to drive them into Newport —abandoned during the previous year by the

English—where they forced them to remain in a state of blockade. About the same time, John Hancock was elected the first governor under the new constitution of Massachusetts, which had just received the sanction of the people.

Perhaps at no period of the war had the prospect of the ultimate success of the struggle for independence appeared so gloomy as at the opening of the campaign of 1781. Arnold's treason the previous year, though productive of no obvious advantage to the English, had struck a chill into the hearts of the Americans; and a defection in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops, which was with difficulty suppressed, evidenced a lamentable weakness highly encouraging to the hopes of the enemy.

Early in January, Cornwallis, previous to marching in pursuit of Greene, despatched Colonel Tarleton, a brave but rash and impetuous cavalry officer, against Morgan, who at this time was carrying on a partizan warfare in the western part of South Carolina. Tarleton being defeated at the Cowpens, with a loss of half his men, Cornwallis immediately started in pursuit of Morgan, who was soon after joined by Greene. A series of rapid movements now took place, which resulted in the battle of Guilford Court House. Though victory remained with Cornwallis, he was obliged to fall back. Greene immediately came to the bold determination of

crossing into South Carolina and attacking Rawdon, who, with nine hundred men, was posted at Camden. By this movement he hoped to draw Cornwallis out of North Carolina. Discovering Greene's design too late to frustrate it, Cornwallis made a rapid northward march and joined Arnold and Phillips, who were ravaging Virginia. Meanwhile, Greene persevered in his design against Rawdon, and, though several times defeated, forced the latter to abandon his outposts and retire to Charleston; so that South Carolina was once more in a great measure relieved of the presence of the enemy.

Lafayette, who had been sent into Virginia to oppose the advance of Cornwallis, finding his force entirely too weak to risk an engagement, was compelled to retreat toward the Rappahannock, where he formed a junction with Wayne, at the head of about a thousand of the Pennsylvania line. The British general made immediate pursuit; but receiving orders from Clinton, who apprehended an attack upon New York, to take up a safe position and there await further directions, he withdrew to the peninsulas of York and Gloucester. Here he concentrated his entire army, eight thousand strong, fortifying his position by a line of formidable redoubts. Washington, who had for some time meditated an attack upon New York, now determined to strike a blow at Cornwallis. Secretly and with great

rapidity, before Clinton was aware of his movement, he had joined Lafayette at Williamsburg with the combined French and American forces. De Grasse, with a large French fleet, having cut off Cornwallis's retreat by water, the allied armies commenced a vigorous siege. After sustaining their assault with gallantry for nearly three weeks, the British were compelled on the 16th of October, greatly to their humiliation, to surrender as prisoners of war.

CHAPTER XX.

Prospects of peace—Memorial of the general court—Right of the fisheries—Exhausted condition of the confederated states—Disaffection in the American army—Peace proclaimed—Difficulties in Massachusetts—Indebtedness of the State—Popular discontent—Bowdoin chosen governor—His address to the people—National convention called—State convention at Hatfield—Internal discord—Popular disturbances—Action of the legislature—Riots at Worcester—Daniel Shays the popular leader—Proposes to march to Boston—Winter quarters of the rioters—Their conduct at Springfield—The militia called out—Armory at Springfield attacked—Defeat of the insurgents—Petition for pardon—Activity of General Lincoln—Capture of the rioters—Restoration of tranquillity.

Early in 1782, peace became a matter of confident hope. The popular feeling in England was evidently against continuing hostilities. A

change in the ministry had consequently taken place, and a majority of the members of tho new cabinet were favourably disposed toward the American confederacy. Powers of negotiation, with a view to the adjustment of difficulties, had likewise been delegated by Congress to our ambassadors in France and Holland.

The chief object to be secured in such negotiations was entire independence. Many questions of minor importance were also to be settled; among others, that of the fisheries, which intimately concerned a large class of the citizens of Massachusetts. Through a memorial of the general court, Congress was led to instruct its ambassadors "to contend for a right to the fisheries on the Banks of Newfoundland and in the North American seas." Though not urged as absolutely necessary to the conclusion of peace, this right was obtained with but little trouble; and, at the same time, the important privilege was secured of taking and curing fish on some of the British coasts.

While negotiations for peace were going on, and after it had been rendered almost certain that an amicable settlement would be made, the states, in their individual and confederated capacities, were busily engaged in examining the condition in which the struggle had left their financial departments. The public treasury was

found to be exhausted, and claims, numerous and urgent, were constantly pouring in. A large proportion of these was for wages due the troops then about to be disbanded, many of them nearly destitute of the means of subsistence. Congress at that time was utterly unable to liquidate more than a small part of these demands. When this fact became known, some of the less thoughtful soldiers inconsiderately, and urged on by pressing need, formed the resolution of not laying down their arms until the whole amount of their claims was discharged. Happily, through the vigorous exertions of General Washington and other influential officers, among whom were General Knox and Colonel Brooks, of Massachusetts, this resolution, so threatening to the safety of the infant republic, was finally abandoned.

At length, late in 1783, the joyful intelligence was received that an honourable peace had been definitely concluded on the 3d of September of that year.

Thus was secured independence, the object of eight years of struggle, attended with the utmost toil and privation, and made glorious by innumerable instances of patriotic devotion. It now remained to be shown that independence could be maintained. The problem was to be solved whether states, with interests so various and conflicting as those at work in the confederacy,

could move together as harmoniously in peace as they had in war. Many causes were against the solution of this question in a manner gratifying to the patriot and to the lover of freedom. Chief among these was the exhausted condition of the state and national treasuries. This, together with others less operative and immediate, for a time threatened a result of the most disastrous character. But, in the end, patriotism rose superior to self-interest and the jealousies of states; and the foundations of our country, though laid in a period of stormy dissension, were only made firmer and more durable in consequence.

Massachusetts, to a greater extent, perhaps, than any of her sister states, had, after the conclusion of hostilities, to struggle with internal difficulties growing out of the war of independence. To the public service she had contributed largely, both in men and money. Between eight and nine thousand of her citizens had perished in the revolutionary contest; and she was now labouring under a heavy debt incurred in maintaining her own troops, and in furnishing her quota of the expenses of the confederacy. To discharge this debt, resort was had to taxation, which, though extremely burdensome, was, for a short period, borne with commendable fortitude.

Within two years subsequent to the treaty of peace, however, the feeling of universal joy

which that event had created, began to subside, and a growing tendency to dissatisfaction was manifested among all classes of the community. The state, on her own account, was in debt five millions of dollars; her proportion of the continental debt was nearly as much more. Her credit was low and utterly unsatisfactory to those who were clamorously presenting their demands against it; the burden of taxation was becoming more and more insupportable; and the manufacturing interests of the commonwealth were compelled to struggle on against a heavy and almost unrestricted importation of British and other foreign goods. These evils, and others originating from them, were hard to bear. Self-interest in individuals may be at all times second to patriotism; but, in the masses, this is only the case in moments of great public danger. Hence it was but natural that a spirit of discontent should spring up among the people.

At this critical period, early in the year 1785, Mr. Bowdoin was chosen by the legislature to occupy the gubernatorial chair, then left vacant by the resignation of Governor Hancock, who, having been for the last ten years arduously engaged in the public service, deemed that an interval of repose was absolutely necessary for the restoration of his shattered health.

With the spirit of discontent above mentioned, expressing his firm conviction of the existence of

evils, yet entertaining various and conflicting opinions as to what would most effectually obviate them, the new governor, at the very outset of his administration, found himself obliged to contend. At once to remove every cause of complaint was impossible. He therefore urged upon the people the necessity of patience. While acknowledging that the burden of their taxes was indeed heavy, he bade them remember that it was the price of their independence. He animadverted against the extravagant importation of foreign goods, by which the commonwealth was drained of her specie, her manufactures retarded, and her merchants hampered by debts contracted with foreign dealers. In speaking of the commercial regulations of Great Britain, which were at that time selfish and monopolising, and highly injurious to the interests of the New England states, he lamented that Congress had not been invested with sufficient powers to regulate our commercial intercourse with foreign nations; and advised the general court to take measures for obtaining a national convention, to which the question of enlarging the powers of the confederacy might be referred.

Pursuant to the governor's recommendation, the general court immediately adopted several measures calculated to obviate, in some respects, the difficulties under which the state then laboured. They also passed resolutions favourable

to a convention of delegates from all the states, for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation, in accordance with the views expressed by Governor Bowdoin. These resolutions were transmitted to Congress, with the request that that body would take the subject into consideration.

This question, meanwhile, had been agitated throughout the several states. That the Articles of Confederation were insufficient for their great design, was the opinion of every reflecting person. With regard to the regulation of commerce, they were thought to be particularly defective. Consequently, whilst, in January, 1786, the Legislature of Massachusetts was meditating the passage of a bill giving Congress complete and unconditional power to regulate foreign commerce, a proposition was made by the assembly of Virginia for a convention of commissioners from the several states, to meet at Annapolis, Maryland, in order to take measures for revising and amending the plan of federal government. Commissioners from six states accordingly met at the place appointed, in September, 1786; but finding themselves too few in number to carry out any definite and effectual measures, after recommending a convention of delegates from all the states, to meet at Philadelphia in the following May, they resolved to adjourn.

Early in the summer of 1786, soon after the re-election of Governor Bowdoin by a large majority of the popular vote, there were numerous symptoms manifested that a crisis was fast approaching; which, without an uncommon degree of wisdom on the part of the rulers of the commonwealth, and of patriotic fortitude and calmness upon that of her well-disposed citizens, could not otherwise terminate than in the most deplorable anarchy. That discontent which had been but partially quieted in the previous year, began again to show itself alarmingly, and with redoubled violence of complaint. To enumerate all the causes alleged for this discontent is, perhaps, unnecessary. The single fact that the taxes were extremely high and burdensome, may be enough to account for it all. For the present year, the sum to be raised by taxation was almost a million and a half of dollars: but little less than four dollars for every man, woman, and child in the state. There was scarcely any specie in the country; and, consequently, the mercantile and agricultural classes, on whom the great burden of taxation fell, found themselves continually increasing their indebtedness to the commonwealth, from an inability to discharge their dues in legal currency.

Dissatisfaction at length rose to such a height that, early in August, 1786, a convention, composed of delegates from some fifty towns in the

county of Hampshire, met at Hatfield, "to consider and provide a remedy for the grievances they suffered." Having disavowed any illegal intentions, and declared itself constitutional, the convention prepared a long list of grievances, and then adjourned, after a session of three days. A few weeks subsequent a body of fifteen hundred armed men collected at Northampton, the shire-town of Hampshire county, and forcibly prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas, which judicial tribunal, on account of the expense incurred in maintaining it, the convention had declared to be unnecessary and injurious. A proclamation was immediately issued by the governor, forbidding all such unlawful combinations, and asking the aid of every good citizen in their suppression. Little effect was produced by this document. Dissatisfaction and misrule rapidly spread themselves throughout the western counties of the state. On various occasions, and at different places, the sittings of the court were prevented or broken up. In some few cases the militia were called out; and, by their prompt action, legal proceedings were enabled to go on. As yet, however, no blood had been shed. Where there was no military force for their protection, the courts prudently adjourned upon the appearance of the insurrectionists; and, where the troops were numerous, the latter made no demonstrations that

could warrant the exercise of military rule. On one occasion, the insurgents collected at Taunton, in order to prevent the sitting of the court, the military force to guard which was inferior to them in point of number. General Cobb, commander of the militia, and judge of the court, approaching the malecontents, declared to them that "he would sit as a judge, or die as a general." Knowing him to be a man as true to his word as he was courageous in spirit, the insurgents quietly separated.

At the close of September, the legislature convened in special session. After adopting a law against illegal and riotous assemblies, and suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* for a period of eight months, acts were passed to redress, as far as possible, the real grievances of which the people complained. Among others, bills for allowing debtors to discharge executions with real or personal estate; for paying part of the state tax in specific articles instead of specie; and for appropriating certain revenues, formerly pledged to other purposes, to defraying governmental expenses—thus rendering the necessity for collecting the direct tax less urgent. Lenient conditions, insuring full pardon for past offences, were also offered to the insurgents.

Up to this time the government had carried out no measures of a severe or stringent cha-

racter. It was felt by the executive authority that the people, though rash and inconsiderate in their conduct, were yet urged to action only by the force of great and pressing evils. A mild course had, therefore, been deemed advisable. Strenuous efforts had been made, however, to enlighten the disaffected with regard to the causes of their grievances, and to show them that time was required for their complete abatement; and thus, it was hoped, the insurgents would become conscious of their folly and wickedness, and be led to disperse quietly and of their own accord.

But, however much the great body of the discontented may have been disposed to respect the leniency, and yield to the arguments and persuasions of the governor and his advisers, their leaders were only encouraged to inflame them the more. Matters continued to increase in seriousness. At length some of the most prominent of those engaged in disturbing the courts were arrested, and lodged in jail at Boston. Soon afterward the insurgents assembled, nearly a thousand strong, at Worcester, where the court had just adjourned, and placed guards over those houses where the judges resided who yet remained in town. Otherwise, with the exception of their billeting themselves upon the inhabitants, their conduct was moderate and inoffensive.

While the insurgents were at Worcester, it was proposed by one Daniel Shays, who had taken command of the entire force, that they should march to the deliverance of the prisoners confined at Boston. As they had been receiving constant accessions to their number, he did not deem the design an impracticable one. Fortunately for themselves, and for the commonwealth, perhaps, it was not acted upon, and many of the malecontents returned to their homes. Those remaining, with Shays at their head, repaired to an old revolutionary barracks, some twelve miles distant, where they took up their quarters. It was the middle of December, and the weather was remarkably cold. The insurgents, in consequence, suffered severely, not only from the rigour of the season, but also from a scarcity of provisions. Whatever they may have undergone, it does not seem to have deterred them from pursuing the line of conduct they had marked out. Near the close of the month they made their appearance at Springfield, where the court was about sitting, took possession of the court-house, and prevented all judicial proceedings.

To this last act of violence the forbearance of the governor was compelled to yield. He immediately issued a call for raising a large body of militia. Alarmed by the promptitude with which this call was answered, the insurgents

were led to prepare and forward to the governor a petition for pardon; but he, deeming this document highly offensive and dictatorial in its style and language, did not think it compatible with the dignity of the state to give them any hopes of pardon upon the conditions which they attached to it.

Until toward the close of January, 1787, no collision took place between the militia and the insurgents. Desiring possession of the military arsenal at Springfield, a post of no mean importance, a considerable force of the insurgents marched to attack that place. General Shepard, who, with about one thousand militia had been stationed at Springfield, on their approach, sent them repeated messages, warning and entreating them not to persist in their attempt. No effect being produced by these, blank cartridges were fired at the deluded multitude, but likewise to no purpose. Whereupon General Shepard ordered a few guns to be discharged directly into their ranks. Three of the insurgents fell dead at the first fire, when the remainder, hastily, and in extreme confusion, retreated to a neighbouring town.

The result of this affair seems not to have greatly disheartened the insurgent leaders, who still rallied around their standards large numbers of the people. On the 4th of February following, the general court declared the exist-

ence of a "dangerous rebellion" in the commonwealth. Meanwhile the militia and the "rebels" had been marching and countermarching, though without at any time coming into actual collision. Both parties, however, were much distressed by the severity of the season.

Soon after the declaration of the general court, that body received a petition from the insurgents, in which, after acknowledging their error in forcibly opposing the government, yet insisting that they had cause to complain of grievances which ought to have been redressed, they promised to lay down their arms and disperse, provided pardon was granted to them for the past. The general court replied that they could not listen to a petition presented by men with arms in their hands; and that no pardon could be assured to leaders "justly chargeable with the aggravated crime of rebellion, after repeated warnings, and former assurances of clemency."

A few days subsequent to the reception of this petition, General Lincoln, under whose command was a considerable military force, having learned that the main body of the rebels was collected at Petersham, resolved to make an attack upon that place. Accordingly, after a rapid and painful night-march through a deep snow, he suddenly entered the town about daybreak. The insurgents, who had not received

the slightest intelligence of his approach, were too surprised to offer any serious resistance, and fled in various directions, and in the utmost disorder. One hundred and fifty were made prisoners. Of the remainder, a large proportion either returned to their homes or left the state.

This energetic conduct completely destroyed the formidable character of the insurrection. Several collisions, however, afterward took place between straggling parties of the insurgents and the state authorities. In one of these, the former left upon the field two of their number dead, and as many as thirty wounded. In September, tranquillity was so far restored, that it was deemed safe to disband what few troops yet remained in service. Previously, in May, a pardon had been granted to all engaged in the insurrection, who should within three months take the oath of allegiance, with the exception of nine persons. Of the nine excepted in this pardon, and who were then under sentence of death, four were subsequently liberated, and one condemned to hard labour in confinement. The others made their escape from prison, and took refuge in a neighbouring state.

CHAPTER XXI.

Delegates sent to the national convention—Hancock re-elected governor—Adoption of the federal constitution—Formation of parties—Fervid political discussions—Federalists and anti-federalists—Virginia calls for a new convention—Amendments to the constitution by Congress—Reviving prosperity in Massachusetts—Agriculture and manufactures encouraged—Death of Hancock—Samuel Adams elected governor—National difficulties with France and England—Treaty stipulations with France—Arrogant conduct of Genet—Washington's policy of neutrality approved—Sympathy for the French republic—Rejoicings in Boston—Hamilton's funding system—Sustained by Washington—Federal and republican differences—Party rancour and animosity—Charges against the Federalists and Republicans—Jay's treaty—Its reception in Massachusetts—Denounced by the Republicans—Ratified by the senate—Riotous proceedings.

Meanwhile, the legislature had, in March, decided to send delegates to the national convention to be held at Philadelphia in the following May. An election had also taken place, in April, which resulted in the choice of Mr. Hancock as governor.

On the meeting of the legislature in October, Governor Hancock presented to that body the new Federal Constitution, then recently adopted, after a stormy and protracted session, by the convention previously appointed. This constitution had been, in September, laid before

congress, which, after considerable hesitation and debate, forwarded a copy of it to the several legislatures, with a recommendation that state conventions should be called to decide upon its adoption or rejection. For securing its adoption, the consent of nine states was necessary. Pursuant to the request of congress, the general court called a state convention, and notified the towns to elect delegates.

With regard to the action of this convention, which met at Boston in January, 1788, much anxiety was manifested by the friends of the federal constitution throughout the confederacy. Of the three hundred and sixty delegates composing it, there was considerable doubt whether more than a very small majority, if even that, were in favour of the new compact. But after a discussion of several weeks, the arguments of its friends so far prevailed as to procure its adoption by the slender majority of nineteen votes. Many amendments, subject, however, to the approval of three-fourths of the states, had, in the mean time, been made, several of which were subsequently embodied in the constitution.

Though in June, 1788, by the adoption of the federal constitution in the states of Virginia and New Hampshire, that instrument was rendered binding on the confederacy, the discussion which had sprung up with regard to its necessity, its merits and its demerits, continued to be warmly

and ably managed. All minor questions of local politics became forgotten or were absorbed into this new ground of difference; and two extensive and powerful parties, destined to act conspicuous parts in the great drama of popular government, rose rapidly into notice. Throughout the entire confederacy, there was a numerous and respectable body of citizens who, though feeling themselves bound to acquiesce, for the time being, in the will of the majority of their countrymen, did not cease to urge earnestly, and with much force, their objections to the newly-created bond of union. On the other hand, the friends of that compact were equally warm and zealous in urging its practicability and fitness for all the ends of wise and judicious government.

Whilst the war of independence was being waged, political asperity was very great. Measures of public policy, during that excited period, frequently involved the fortunes, liberties, and even lives of those who opposed or abetted them. It was now difficult, therefore, for partisans to throw aside those habits of rancorous contention to which they had been accustomed, and to pursue that peaceful line of argument demanded by the new order of things, and by which alone the internal difficulties of popular governments should be adjusted. But, passionate as were the discussions then carried on between parties, and violent as many isolated outbreaks of feeling

appear to have been, yet the sterling good sense of the people was never so far perverted as to wholly justify the fears of anarchy and consequent ruin which we find expressed by many prominent and patriotic individuals of that day.

Of the parties formed at this time, that friendly to the constitution styled itself, and was popularly so called, the Federal party. That based upon its opposition to some of the principles of the new compact, was, for a short period, known as the Anti-Federal party. From the first, however, its members appear to have disclaimed that title, on the ground that they were not inimical to a truly federal government; and a few years later, when the original points of difference were fast being obliterated, and the popularity of the new constitution completely confirmed, they assumed the name of Republicans. Their principal objections to the federal instrument were, that the powers intrusted to the president and to congress were too extensive; and that those powers were secured only by weakening the rights of the individual states. In both parties, as they thus stood, were extreme members;—ultra Federalists contending that the constitution was not yet centralizing enough, and that too much power had been left to the states and to the people; and ultra Republicans declaring that the action of the convention which formed the constitution was unauthorized, and

that nothing more had been designed in calling that convention than a mere revision or amendment of the old articles of confederation.

Though parties were about equally balanced—so nearly so, at least, as to render it doubtful at first which was the most powerful—no general desire was ever evinced to abrogate the constitution. In Virginia, however, where the republican party held an undoubted majority, and where the talent and wealth of the state, headed by the celebrated Patrick Henry, were arrayed on its side, it was proposed that another general convention should be called to revise the lately created compact. This proposition was seconded by New York. But no other states could be induced to unite with them; for, as was justly thought even by many of the republican party, such a convention would revive unnecessary discussion, increase the feeling of animosity, and, perhaps, result in the destruction of the instrument it proposed to amend. Consequently, it was deemed advisable that all amendments should be referred to congress, which body, in 1789, adopted twelve out of sixteen that were offered.

By the adoption of these amendments, much of the partisan asperity of the day was moderated. Still the period was one of excitement. Massachusetts, however, remained comparatively quiet. She earlier, perhaps, than her sister

states, began to experience the good effects of the changed order of things. Her manufactures and her commerce immediately revived; and, in general, the interests of her people were happily promoted. Though greatly in debt, and still labouring under a heavy burden of taxes, which the assumption of certain state debts by the federal government had but slightly alleviated, she yet seemed to have entered upon a new and fresh existence; and for several years her course was unmarked by any thing but peace and prosperity. Under the administration of Governor Hancock, who for six successive years —from 1787 to 1793 inclusive—was chosen chief magistrate of the state by large majorities, many wise laws, calculated to promote the advancement of agriculture, manufactures, and education, were proposed and adopted. Politically, the state leaned to the federal side. Her governor was a moderate member of that party. Her men of talent and wealth, unlike those of Virginia, were generally Federalists; and in the first election for congressional representatives under the new constitution, that party had gained a decided triumph. In those districts, however, which had been the seat of Shay's rebellion, the Republicans closely and, in some instances, successfully contested the political supremacy.

In the month of October, 1793, Governor Hancock died while in office. He had been

long in the public service, and had given repeated proofs of his devotion to the welfare and liberty of his state and country. His name stood conspicuous among those who, in the Declaration of Independence, had pledged for their country's sake "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours." And now, forgetting their differences and their prejudices, all parties joined in lamenting his death as a national calamity.

After the death of Hancock, Samuel Adams, then lieutenant-governor, occupied the chief magistracy during the remainder of the civil year. In 1794, he was chosen governor by the people, and continued to hold that office until 1797.

One of the first duties devolving upon Governor Adams, after taking the chair vacated by Mr. Hancock's death, was that of sending to the different state legislatures a resolution of the Massachusetts general court in favour of amending the federal constitution so as to prevent states from being sued by individuals, citizens of other states. This resolution, which was favourably responded to, and, in the end, secured its object, had been passed before the death of Governor Hancock, was called forth by a decision of the Supreme Court, declaring that suits of this kind could be sustained. More violent than Massachusetts in her opposition to the federal judiciary, Georgia, in view of this question, had

enacted a law subjecting to death any person serving processes against that state at the suit of any individual.

During the administration of Governor Adams, the people of the state and nation became much divided with respect to difficulties which had arisen between the general government and the authorities of Great Britain and France. Unfortunately, our people, whose political differences since the Revolution had been excited only upon matters of internal policy, were now to mingle in a partisan contest, originated and inflamed almost entirely by that species of foreign influence of which Washington, in his Farewell Address, afterward so affectionately warned them to beware.

France, after a series of sanguinary excesses, had proclaimed herself a republic. Shortly subsequent she declared war against England. According to treaties made with the late government, "French privateers and their prizes were entitled to shelter in American ports—a shelter not to be extended to the enemies of France;" and the United States were also unequivocally bound to guarantee the French possessions in America. Washington foreseeing that such action, in the present state of affairs, would involve the United States in the evils and expenses of an European war, issued a proclamation of strict neutrality, virtually annulling the former treaties with

France, which, it was contended, had been negotiated with the empire, and could not therefore be insisted upon by the new republic. This proclamation, and the subsequent seizure by the federal authorities of French privateers fitting out in American ports, aroused the indignation of Genet, ambassador from the Directory of France, who boldly entered into a contest with the chief executive of the United States; and, encouraged by numerous evidences of sympathy from a large portion of the people of the country, persisted in his policy of carrying on, from our ports, a privateering warfare against Great Britain.

By a majority, perhaps, of his fellow-citizens, the course of Washington was approved. But there had been, from the first, among the people of the United States, a strong and earnest sympathy for France in her struggles for liberty. The intelligence of the proclamation of the republic had been received with celebrations and rejoicings throughout the country. In the city of Boston, a barbecue and a distribution of bread and punch for the multitude, and a civic feast for a select party of three hundred, presided over by the then lieutenant-governor, Samuel Adams, afforded evidence of the general feeling. But upon the commencement of the Reign of Terror, many of the more thoughtful people beginning to doubt whether that country was indeed beneficially affected by her so-called republican-

ism, were led to express their utter abhorrence for her public men and her public measures.

The original question in dispute between the two great political parties—that of the federal constitution—was now sunk into insignificance. Soon after the organization of the government, it had been partially laid aside, and its place occupied by Hamilton's funding system—a measure supported by the Federalists. Washington, though really no partisan, by favouring the measure of Hamilton, for whom he entertained the strongest personal friendship, identified himself with the federal party; and in opposing the arrogance of France and her minister, was sustained almost entirely by that organization. On the other hand, the Republicans, adverse to the administration on questions of internal policy, now took sides against it in favour of the French. A spirit of bitter animosity pervaded the discussions which grew out of the new partisan differences. Each party accused the other of being actuated by motives which, in the end, would prove destructive to the country and its liberties. Of the Federalists, it was said that their love of England was the prime source of their opposition to France; that they hated the mass of the people, over whom they wished to raise a titled aristocracy; and that they leaned toward monarchy, in preference to those principles of democracy which had been so nobly contended

for in the war of independence. Even Washington, by some of his more violent political opponents, was stigmatized with charges like these. But if the Republicans were bitter in their denunciations, it can scarcely be said that the Federalists were less so. Jefferson and other patriots of the Revolution, together with the Republican party in a mass, were charged with being desirous of carrying out in America, no matter at what risk, the wild and extravagant theories, political and religious, then deluging with blood the soil of distracted France.

In keeping alive the contentions of party, to the French question was added that relating to the commercial treaty negotiated with Great Britain in 1795, by John Jay, of New York. Ever since the Revolution, the English government had been endeavouring to embarrass and cripple the commerce of the United States. For that end, the most unjust and illiberal regulations had been adopted, by which our country was rendered, in this respect, but little better than a colonial dependency. Besides, that government, by her system of impressment of seamen from American vessels, under the pretence that they were British born, had made itself highly obnoxious. Persons who claimed, as naturalized citizens, the protection of our flag, and, too frequently, Americans by birth, were forcibly dragged from our merchant ships and reduced

to the slavery of a British man-of-war. Public indignation at repeated outrages of this kind at length rose to such a height, that war seemed almost inevitable. To avert this, if possible, President Washington had sent Mr. Jay as special ambassador to the English court, where was negotiated the treaty already mentioned.

Soon after Mr. Jay's return, and before the treaty had been ratified, an abstract of its provisions was made public. Immediately on the receipt of this abstract, a meeting was held at Boston, by which the treaty was denounced as "injurious to our commercial interests, and derogatory to the honour and independence of the country." A counter meeting was soon after called, which uttered sentiments decidedly the reverse.

On this subject it might be said that, to those of our people who were convinced that a contest with England could no longer be honourably avoided—and there were many such—Jay's treaty, or any other treaty, would not have been acceptable; while, to such as contrasted the blessings of peace with the miseries of war, that document, unduly concessive as it might now be deemed, could not then be else than politic and satisfactory.

Consequently, as people began to reflect, the tide of public sentiment turned in its favour. After considerable debate, it was ratified by

the Senate, and received the signature of Washington. When the news of its ratification became known, however, a dangerous and disorderly spirit was aroused in various parts of the country. For several successive nights, Boston was a scene of riot and confusion; houses were mobbed, and some of the public officers were personally assaulted. In New York and Philadelphia, similar scenes occurred. But these outbreaks, which cannot be adduced as evidences of the popular feeling, were soon quieted without resort to arbitrary measures.

CHAPTER XXII.

Politics of Massachusetts—Increase of the federal party—Difficulties with France—Conduct of the French Directory—Return of Pinckney—Decree against American seamen—New envoys despatched to France—Negotiations abandoned by Pinckney and Marshall—Indignation in America—Preparations for war—Popularity of the federal party—Progress of Massachusetts—"Quasi" war with France—Buonaparte first consul—Treaty of peace—Secessions from the federal party—Alien and sedition laws—Denounced by Kentucky and Virginia—Defended by Massachusetts—Election of Jefferson to the presidential chair—Rapid decline of the federal party—Foreign relations—English aggressions—Unsuccessful mission of Monroe and Pinckney—Berlin decree and order in council—Their effect upon American commerce—Affair of the Chesapeake and Leopard—Adoption of the embargo—Revival of the federal party—The embargo denounced in Massachusetts—Address of Governor Lincoln—Response of the general court—Increase of the democratic party in Massachusetts—Efforts of the Federalists.

In the mean time, notwithstanding the moderate republicanism of Governor Adams, the political sympathies of Massachusetts were inclining strongly to the federal party. In the state election of 1796, those strong "republican" counties in which the rebellion of Shay had been most vehemently supported, gave a strong majority in favour of Increase Sumner, the federal candidate for governor. Sumner was indeed defeated in the state at large, but this was owing

more to the personal popularity of Governor Adams, than to the strength of the republican party. During the following year, when Governor Adams declined being again a candidate, on account of his advanced age, Sumner was elected by a large majority.

The increase of the federal party throughout the other states had been greatly accelerated by the unpopularity into which the ultra republicans had fallen, through their sympathy with the acts of the French revolutionists. To well-grounded complaints of aggressions and spoliations made upon our commerce under the sanction of French decrees, the responses from France had been at all times unsatisfactory, and occasionally insolent. Our ambassadors were treated with so much disrespect, that at length Pinckney, who had succeeded Monroe as minister from the United States, demanded his passports and quitted the country. Negotiations were no sooner brought thus abruptly to a close, than the French government proceeded to evince its hostile disposition by the issue of a decree, under which all American seamen found serving on board British ships, were to be considered and treated as pirates; so that those men who were already the victims of English press-gangs, were now subjected to the additional danger of being hanged by the French.

Still anxious, if possible, to avoid an appeal

to arms, the American executive determined upon one more attempt at negotiation. In the summer of 1797, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry were commissioned as envoys to the Directory of France. Their reception was informal, and they were subjected to so many indignities, that Pinckney and Marshall broke off at an early period from all attempt at negotiation. This treatment of the American envoys created a strong feeling of indignation throughout America, and the conclusion was, "that resistance or unconditional submission was the only alternative left." Even the fierceness of political partisanship gave way for a season; and, with the consent of congress, the most energetic preparations were made for a contest which now appeared inevitable. Strong, however, as this impression was becoming, President Adams, while encouraging the determined efforts which were now making to meet the emergency, did not relax in his endeavours to effect a settlement of the existing difficulties in a pacific and honourable manner.

During no previous period of its history, had the federal party been so strong, nationally, as now. In Massachusetts the large increase of Federalists was strikingly exhibited by the majorities obtained by Sumner for governor during the years 1798 and 1799. At the latter election he received three-fourths of all the votes cast.

Dying, however, almost immediately after, he was succeeded by Moses Gill, the lieutenant-governor.

At this time the commonwealth was flourishing, and required but little legislation to promote and preserve its prosperity. Its commerce, notwithstanding the war in Europe, was vigorous and growing; its internal improvements were rapidly advancing; the cause of education was carefully promoted; and, in general, there was abundant reason for satisfaction among the people.

In respect to our foreign relations, so far as the federal government was concerned, it seemed almost impossible to avoid a war with France. Indeed a "quasi" war was carried on during the year 1800, during which many French privateers and merchant vessels were captured by American cruisers. In October, the corvette Berceau, after an action of two hours, struck to the sloop-of-war Boston, commanded by Captain George Little, of Massachusetts. Happily, before more imposing demonstrations could be made by either nation, Buonaparte, as first consul, had superseded the French Directory. Negotiations were again resumed, and a treaty of peace finally concluded.

In April, 1800, Caleb Strong, the federal candidate, was elected governor of Massachusetts over Elbridge Gerry, the republican nomi-

nee; but although Governor Strong was re-elected every succeeding year, the popularity of his party gradually declined. Nationally it was already greatly weakened; and in the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency, its power was effectually and finally broken. Though the energetic course of Mr. Adams, with respect to our relations with France, had for a brief period invested himself and the party to which he belonged, with an extraordinary degree of popularity, other measures, adopted subsequently, had drawn upon his administration the obloquy of a large number of Federalists and Republicans, who imagined their rights and liberties unnecessarily endangered.

This marked change in public sentiment originated in the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws, during the summer of 1798. The main object of those famous acts was to give the president authority to order out of the country such aliens as he might judge dangerous to its peace and safety; to apprehend, secure, or remove all resident aliens, natives, or citizens of the hostile nations; and to sustain prosecution in the judicial courts for such publications as might be considered libellous on the national government.

The trial, fine, and imprisonment, under the sedition act, of several persons charged with having promulgated libels upon the federal authorities, soon kindled an intense excitement

against the law itself, and the party with whom it originated. It was denounced as arbitrary and tyrannical; and even among well-disposed Federalists was regarded as impolitic and unnecessary. The legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions in opposition to the measure, but the general court of Massachusetts took ground in its defence. Notwithstanding this generous support from his own state, the laws were so generally unpopular, that Adams failed in securing his re-election to the presidency, and was succeeded by Jefferson.

The defeat of Adams greatly accelerated the decline of the federal party, even in Massachusetts. Though strenuously resisted, the Republicans so rapidly increased, that in 1804, Jefferson, who had been renominated for the presidency, received the electoral vote of the state. The personal popularity of Governor Strong, indeed, secured his re-election for governor the following spring by a small majority; but both branches of the legislature were republican, or democratic, as that party now began to be termed.

Various measures of minor importance were adopted by the government of Massachusetts during the two subsequent years, the most prominent of which was an act to prevent duelling, a practice which, at that time, prevailed to some extent. By this law, challengers, those accepting chal-

lenges, together with their respective seconds, were made alike punishable for felonious assault, and were disqualified from holding any official station.

But while the particular affairs of Massachusetts required no very extraordinary acts of legislation, the foreign relations of the country at large were beginning to assume a troubled aspect. In our intercourse with Great Britain, Jay's treaty had not been observed by the latter with that strictness requisite to preserve amity between the contracting powers. Repeated acts of aggression committed upon our commerce had at length aroused in the public mind a spirit of indignation that was daily growing in intensity. In August, 1806, Monroe and Pinckney, as joint commissioners from the United States, made an ineffectual attempt to obtain from Great Britain an amicable settlement of the questions in dispute. Upon most points at issue the prospect of a mutual agreement was favourable; but as the English government refused to relinquish the disputed right to make impressments upon the high seas, the conference finally terminated unsatisfactorily.

On the 21st of November, 1806, while these negotiations were pending, Napoleon issued his famous Berlin decree; and, in retaliation, the British government extended the operation of a previous order in council. Substantially both

measures were alike, in rendering American or other neutral vessels having British or French merchandise on board, or trading with certain specified ports, liable to seizure by the French or English naval forces. The direct effect of both proclamations was to cripple the commercial enterprise of the United States. The ill-feeling thus strengthened against Great Britain, was greatly increased by a wanton and unprovoked attack which was made upon the American frigate Chesapeake, by the English sloop-of-war Leopard, under the pretence of recovering certain men, claimed as deserters from the British service.

From this time all hope of adjusting the difficulties with England was abandoned; and now commenced that celebrated commercial warfare by embargoes and acts of non-intercourse, through which it was hoped that both England and France would be compelled to adopt a more liberal course of policy. The measures, however, whatever may have been their merits or demerits, were destined to meet with a vigorous opposition nearer home; the New England States, and especially Massachusetts, becoming strenuous advocates for their repeal.

In the spring of 1807, previous to the adoption of the embargo, Sullivan, the republican candidate, was elected governor over Strong. There was also a democratic majority in both houses

of the legislature. This was the first time since the organization of parties, that all the departments of the state had been of that political complexion. With the passage of the embargo the Federalists began to recover their strength. Still, public opinion was fluctuating and undecided; for although, in the spring of 1808, the Federalists recovered their former ascendency in the legislature, Governor Sullivan secured his re-election. By the new legislature, the Embargo Act was denounced in a series of resolutions, in which its constitutionality was brought into question. Indignation against the administration increased as the operation of the measure began to affect injuriously the commercial interests of the state. Evasions of the embargo became common. To prevent these, the "Enforcing Act" was passed by the general government in January, 1809. A town meeting was held in Boston soon afterward, at which this last act was declared unconstitutional and arbitrary; and such persons as voluntarily assisted in executing its provisions were denounced, as "enemies of the Constitution of the United States, enemies of the State of Massachusetts, and hostile to the liberties of the people."

Governor Sullivan having died in December, 1708, he was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor Lincoln, who, in his address to the general

court, defended the policy of the federal government, and while exhorting the people to submit patiently to the obnoxious laws, took occasion to censure the various town meetings which had been held throughout the state, as highly improper and dangerous to the perpetuity of the Union. He argued that public measures could only be discussed previous to their adoption; that the moment they receive the assent of congress, they expressed the will of the majority, and should be submitted to, otherwise the republican principles of government were of no avail.

The general court responded to the address in no favourable tone; and while disclaiming all desire to disturb the integrity of the Union, they plainly intimated that they did not consider the embargo and its supplement as constitutional laws. They also passed a resolution declaring the "Enforcing Act" not legally binding; but, at the same time, deprecated a forcible resistance to its execution. On the presidential election of the previous year, the effect of the dissatisfaction throughout Massachusetts had been to give the electoral vote of the state to the Federal candidate, who, however, was defeated in the country at large. Notwithstanding the substitution of the less stringent non-intercourse act for the embargo, Gore, the nominee of the Federalists, was elected governor in

1809, while the party majority was increased in both branches of the legislature.

Previous to the state election in 1810, the national administration having relaxed its restrictions upon commercial pursuits, the politics of Massachusetts indicated a decided change in favour of the democratic party. Gerry, the candidate of the latter for governor, was elected by a small majority, and was chosen by increased numbers the following year, together with a democratic majority in both branches of the general court. But in the spring of 1812, the Federal party succeeded, by extraordinary exertions, in wresting the state from the hands of the Democrats. They re-elected Strong to the office of governor, and obtained a majority in the popular branch of the general court. The control of the senate still, however, remained in the hands of their political adversaries.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Declaration of war against Great Britain—Opposition and adverse resolutions of Massachusetts—Governor Strong's defence of state rights—Difficulties between the state and national authorities—Strength of the peace party in Massachusetts—Distress of the people along the sea-coast—Clamour against the national administration—Massachusetts charged with desiring to secede from the Union—Appropriations for defence of the state—The war denounced—The manufacture of woollen and cotton goods—Embargo Act passed by congress—Excitement against it in Massachusetts—Massachusetts supports Vermont in defence of state rights—Concession made to the federal authorities—Eastport, Castine, and Belfast captured by the enemy—Sloop-of-war Adams burned—Machias taken—Additional appropriations made by the general court—Hartford convention—Measures advised by that body—Subsequent action of congress—Impoverished condition of Massachusetts—Treaty of peace—Separation from Maine—Convention to amend the state constitution.

Repeated attempts having failed to procure from England an abandonment of her unjust claims with regard to the right of search and impressment; and as that country still persisted in making reprisals upon the commerce of neutral nations, congress, finding hostilities could no longer be honourably avoided, at length formally declared war.

Intelligence of this important event reached Boston on the 23d of June, 1812, while the

general court was in session. The tidings were no sooner officially communicated to the latter by Governor Strong, than the house of representatives adopted an address to their constituents, denouncing the war as unwise, inexpedient, and unnecessary; and expressing the opinion that an amicable and honourable adjustment of the existing difficulties might have been made with the British government. In opposition to this document, emanating from the peace party of Massachusetts, the state senate issued an address, which asserted in calm, but decided language, that the contest was one which could not have been, in honour, avoided any longer; and that it was necessary for the preservation of our rights and liberties as an independent nation.

Hostilities had scarcely been declared, before a contest commenced between the executives of Massachusetts and of the United States, which, on the question of state rights, completely reversed the positions primarily occupied by the federal and democratic parties. A few days previous to the actual proclamation of war, Major-General Dearborn, of the regular service, by authority of the president, called upon Governor Strong for forty-one companies of the Massachusetts militia; eight of which it was proposed to march into Rhode Island for the defence of that state. To this call the governor did not respond. Shortly afterward a second

requisition was made, which Governor Strong declined to obey. His reasons for so doing were, substantially, that in his opinion there was no constitutional emergency demanding the services of the militia, they not being needed to enforce the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, or to repel invasion. That, as things were, the militia being drilled, disciplined, and prepared to assemble at the shortest notice, for the defence of the state, "it did not seem wise to subject the nation to the expense, or the citizens to the inconvenience," which would be incurred by the proposed call; and that he did not see proper, nor feel constitutionally bound, to place the militia under the command of regular officers instead of those appointed by the state authorities.

In accordance with these views, he issued a general order, calling upon the militia to be prepared to march at a moment's notice to any part of the state which might be threatened with invasion, but subject only to the direction of their own immediate officers. The President of the United States, through the secretary of war, immediately addressed a note to Governor Strong, stating the imminence of the danger, and urgently requesting him to call out the militia; but the governor, finding that the federal authorities still persisted in placing the state troops under command of officers belonging to the

regular service, again declined to act. Here the matter rested for a time; but the non-compliance of the governor met with the severest censure from the democratic party, and throughout the country both he and the state whose executive officer he was, began to be regarded with suspicion and uneasiness.

It must be confessed, however, that a large majority of the people of Massachusetts were prepared to sustain the governor in the stand he had thus taken. Evidence was soon afforded of this in the choice of presidential electors, then, for the first time, left immediately to the people; the federal candidates, as the advocates of peace, receiving the large majority of twenty-five thousand votes. The result of the general election was, nevertheless, strongly favourable to the continuation of Madison in the presidential chair.

Although, during the early part of the war, no invasion of the state was attempted by the British, the business pursuits of the people on the seacoast were much interrupted. Considerable distress and uneasiness prevailed in consequence. Complaints against the administration, and the policy it had adopted, were heard on every side. Even those who had at first joined in demanding hostilities, no sooner felt their own particular interests injuriously affected, than they became vehement in denouncing the contest

as one immediately and seriously retarding the prosperity of the state and of the nation.

From this condition of clamorous disaffection, from the sturdy position assumed by Governor Strong in defence of state rights, and from the refusal of wealthy citizens of the state to loan their money to aid in prosecuting the war, the people of Massachusetts were charged with being desirous of seceding from the Union, and of forming, with the other New England states, a new and independent confederacy. But this charge can scarcely be maintained. That some of the ultra peace men were inclined to carry out such a measure, may be true; but, as a general sentiment, though opposed to the war and believing it to be unwise and uncalled for, the people of Massachusetts were not prepared to encourage a measure so dangerous as secession.

Intelligence having been received of the repeal of the British orders in council, hopes were entertained of the speedy restoration of peace. These, however, were fallacious; and finding that the war must be met, the legislature of Massachusetts at length began to prepare for the emergency. Accordingly, in January, 1813, they appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to the purchase of firearms and other munitions of war, and authorized the governor to appoint three commissioners, to be intrusted with the defence of the maritime districts. For this

duty, Generals Cobb, Heath, and Brooks, officers of the Revolution, were selected. During the year, small detachments of militia were called out for brief periods, on the application of people on the seaboard, in apprehension of an attack from British vessels occasionally seen hovering on the coast. The appearance of the militia in many cases prevented descents which had been meditated by the enemy; but in several instances, their vessels entered remote harbours, and an indiscriminate plunder of the inhabitants not unfrequently followed.

In the political contests of the commonwealth, the Federalists were still triumphant. Governor Strong was re-elected in April by a very large majority; and there was, likewise, a predominance of that party in both branches of the general court. Soon after the commencement of its session in June, that body prepared and forwarded to the national legislature an elaborate address, denouncing the war as impolitic, unnecessary, prompted by lust of conquest, ill conducted, excessively expensive, and jeopardizing to interests which New England would never consent to see injured. Subsequently, however, in view of threatened invasion, resolutions were adopted directing the adjutant-general to request of the war department an immediate supply of arms, to which, according to the law of congress, the state was entitled. No attention, however,

was paid to this requisition, and it was not until near the close of the war that Massachusetts received arms from the general government.

The dissatisfaction of the people still continued, although in the manufacture of woollen and cotton goods a new and profitable business had sprung up during the war, to which much of the present wealth and greatness of Massachusetts may be attributed.

In December, 1813, an embargo act, limited in its duration to one year, was passed by congress, which prohibited the coasting trade from one port to another in the same state. The seafaring classes of the commonwealth became greatly excited against this law, and clamorously called upon the state government to protect them from what they termed a cruel, unconstitutional, and malicious measure. Petitions and remonstrances continued to be urged against it until its repeal early the following year.

At the commencement of 1814, a resolution was offered to the general court, which was strongly indicative of the feeling with which the federal majority of that body regarded the question of state rights; and which also, not without good reason, excited considerable alarm in the minds of those at the head of the national government. A motion being before congress to authorize the prosecution of Governor Chittenden, of Vermont, on account of his late pro-

clamation recalling the militia of that state, a resolution was introduced into the Massachusetts legislature, expressive of the duty and readiness of that commonwealth to aid the governor and people of Vermont in maintaining their constitutional rights, by whomsoever infringed. Happily, congress did not act upon its motion, and so the resolution was laid on the table.

In the spring of 1814, Governor Strong was again elected. Both houses of the legislature were still strongly federal. From his address to the general court at its opening in June, it was evident that the opinions of the governor in regard to the war remained unchanged. In response, both houses agreed that, under the circumstances, congress had no right to expect or demand from Massachusetts any efforts in behalf of the war further than she was constitutionally required to make; and that the general government was not to suppose that her people, by quietly submitting to its measures, did so either from ignorance of their essential rights, or from a fear of asserting them.

During the months of April, May, and June, apprehensions of attack being entertained along the sea-coast, large numbers of the militia were called into service. At this period, however, the fears of the people seem to have been groundless; but, as the number of the enemy's ships on the coast had evidently increased, the general court

judged it advisable to make additional preparations for defence, and for that purpose one hundred thousand dollars was placed at the service of the executive. At the same time, arrangements were made with General Cushing, the United States officer in command of the district, to call out and assume control over the militia of Boston and its vicinity, if it should become necessary to repel an invasion. A similar arrangement was entered into with General Dearborn, who succeeded Cushing shortly afterward: a concession which evinced a disposition on the part of the state to act in concert with the federal authorities.

Early in September, a British armament, consisting of thirty large vessels, set sail from Eastport, upon which place they had lately seized, and unexpectedly appeared before the town of Castine, in the district of Maine, which, as well as Belfast, on the opposite shore of Penobscot Bay, fell without resistance into the hands of the enemy. Soon afterward, committing many outrages and depredations on their way, they pushed up the river toward Hampden, where the sloop of war Adams had been forced to take refuge. Finding it impossible to prevent the capture of his ship, the commander of the Adams was reluctantly compelled to set her on fire. After this, the British having left a garrison in Castine, proceeded against Ma-

chias, of which they also took possession without loss.

About this time, Governor Strong addressed a letter to the secretary of war, stating the expenses incurred by the commonwealth in resisting invasions of the enemy, and requesting the assistance of the general government in future emergencies. To this letter the secretary replied, that no expenses for the militia would be reimbursed, except in cases where they had been called out in compliance with the requisition of a federal officer; nor could he promise either money or troops for the future protection of the people of Massachusetts.

Regarding the crisis as one in which he could not properly assume the whole responsibility, the governor, on the 5th of October, convened an extra session of the general court to devise measures for the safety of the commonwealth. Resolutions were immediately adopted by both branches of that body, expressing the determination of the state never to submit to the public enemy, and providing that a number of men not exceeding ten thousand should be raised to serve twelve months, the whole to be organized under the direction of the governor. In order to meet the expenses thus incurred, the executive was authorized to borrow, from time to time, a sum of money not exceeding one million of dollars, for the payment of which the faith of the state

was pledged. A report was also adopted, and twelve delegates appointed in accordance with it, recommending a convention of deputies from the several New England states, to meet and confer upon their public grievances; to devise and adopt such measures as they might deem expedient for preserving their resources; and for defending themselves against the enemy. A further suggestion was made in favour of a national convention, for the purpose of revising the federal constitution, so as to more effectually secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon a basis of fair representation.

The call for delegates from the New England states having been responded to, the convention met on the 15th of December, at Hartford, in Connecticut. Delegates were present from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and several counties in New Hampshire, the legislature of the latter state having declined acting upon the subject. The propriety of such a convention excited much discussion at the time, and has since been frequently and severely criticised. It is not to be supposed, however, without more conclusive evidence than has yet been given, that its object was to foster treason and disunion. The measures advised by the convention do not sustain the probability of such a design. Certain amendments to the constitution were recom-

mended, and Congress was requested to consent to an arrangement by which the several states represented in the convention might separately or in concert assume the defence of their territory at the national expense. Subsequent to the peace, congress acted upon this request so far as to pass a bill providing for the defence of the respective states in the manner already designated.

The British being still in possession of Castine, it was proposed to Governor Strong by the secretary of war, that five thousand of the Massachusetts troops should be called out to assist the federal government in an attempt at its recapture. This the governor declined doing, stating as his reason, that the attempt must fail without the co-operation of an effective naval force.

The winter of 1814–15 was a period of great distress and anxiety to the people of Massachusetts. They had become impoverished by the long suspension of commerce and navigation; the necessaries of life were held at exorbitant prices; and the prospect of peace was vague and uncertain. The finances of the state, too, were greatly reduced; so much so that, in responding to a demand for aid from the federal government, the executive of Massachusetts pleaded that the state could not possibly spare any part of the little she had remaining. Yet the patriotism of her citizens generally, notwithstanding

the equivocal position in which a large majority of them appeared to be placed, cannot well be impugned; and although they leaned to the opinion that there were sectional views in the policy which had been adopted with regard to the war, they did not believe that the administration would designedly, and without the strongest motives of public interest, encourage any measures which were likely to operate injuriously upon any portion of the confederacy.

Unexpectedly, on Monday, the 13th of February, 1815, intelligence reached Boston that a treaty of peace had been ratified. The general court, then in session, celebrated the joyful tidings by attending religious service. Throughout the city there were no sounds heard but those of gladness and satisfaction. Bells were rung, and a general holiday proclaimed. In the universal enthusiasm, party differences were forgotten; and in the certain prospect of better days, the distresses of the people passed from their minds.

Governor Strong was again elected in 1815 by a large majority. It may be inferred from this, that his course during the war, however much censured in other parts of the confederacy, was such as met with the approval of those by whom he had been so often confirmed in office. By his political opponents, it was asserted that, in refusing to call out the militia at a period of great national danger, he embarrassed the

federal administration and gave additional confidence to the enemies of his country. To this his friends replied, that he was bound by his oath of office to obey the constitution; and that to call out the militia, except to repel an invasion of the state, would have been a violation of his oath, as well as of the rights of the citizens. Others, admitting that the governor was not disposed to embarrass the national administration, disputed the correctness of his opinion in respect to his obligations under the constitution. But the doctrine maintained by Governor Strong has since been advocated by the legislatures of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, and was one which, not having been hastily formed, he adhered to through life.

In 1816, Governor Strong was succeeded by General John Brooks, a soldier and statesman of judgment and experience. The latter continued to receive the suffrages of the people for several successive years, until he declined a reelection to office in 1823. His conduct in the chief magistracy being characterized by dignity, honesty, and energy, was acceptable to the great body of his fellow-citizens, without distinction of party.

In November, 1816, the legislature appointed presidential electors of the federal party, who cast their votes for Rufus King, of New York, for president, and for John E. Howard, of Mary-

land, for vice-president; but James Monroe, of Virginia, was chosen to the chief magistracy by a very large majority.

In the course of the same year, petitions were presented to the legislature from a number of towns in the district of Maine, in favour of forming an independent state out of that portion of Massachusetts. When the question was submitted to the people, the votes in favour of the measure were not sufficiently numerous to induce the legislature to sanction it at that time. In 1819, the question of separation was again agitated. The general court was led to give its consent on certain conditions relating to public lands, and also with the proviso that the majority of the citizens of Maine in favour of an independent government should not be less than fifteen hundred. This majority was obtained, and congress having given its consent, Maine became a separate member of the confederacy in the year 1820.

The constitution of Massachusetts was now forty years old. The separation from Maine, and various other causes, rendered certain alterations in that instrument both appropriate and necessary. In 1820, the legislature submitted the question to the people, who decided in favour of calling a convention. That body accordingly met at Boston in November of the same year. It consisted of about five hundred members,

among whom were some of the ablest and most experienced citizens of the state. The venerable ex-president, John Adams, was called to the chair, but excused himself on account of his age and physical infirmities. Chief Justice Parker was then chosen. The session continued for about seven weeks, during which several amendments to the constitution were passed, with the view of submitting them to the people for their sanction or rejection. Of the fourteen articles thus submitted, nine were approved by the popular voice.

In 1820, the electors for president and vice-president of the United States were chosen by the citizens of Massachusetts in districts. The electors all voted for Mr. Monroe, the only prominent candidate before the people. The old party grounds had been abandoned, and new men and new measures were agitating the popular mind, preparatory to that later organization of adverse political opinions which resulted in the formation of the two parties respectively known as Whigs and Democrats.

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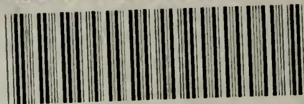
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